

Σ Broë, S de, THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
TRIUMVIRATES.

The First that of  
*Julius Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus.*

The Second that of  
*Augustus, Anthony and Lepidus.*

BEING

A faithfull Collection from the best Historians,  
and other Authours; concerning that Revolution  
of the *Roman* Government which hap-  
ned under their Authority.

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Written originally in *French*,  
AND  
Made *English* by *Tho. Otway*, lately deceased.

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THE  
FRENCH  
PREFACE.

EVERY one has a different taste as well in reading as in other things; some read for Instruction, others onely to divert themselves, and each have their Reasons for what they doe. This however we may truly affirm, that History alone is able to satisfie both, since in that onely Pleasure is so naturally joined to Instruction.

Treatises of Philosophy and other Sciences contain onely Precepts and Axiomes without delight. On the other side, the Poets have onely Pleasure that is natural to them, for what moral notions we find in them they are not properly theirs, but are borrowed  
A from

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from Philosophy. The like may be said of Romances, and even of those Historical Novels which of late are so much in vogue for the Purity of their style and the Delicacy of thoughts; and though some of them have justly deserved approbation, yet it is plain, they were not made for Instruction, since they throw us into the same confusion and perplexity of the first Greek Historians, where Truth and Fables are so mixed and entangled, that it is almost impossible to distinguish them.

It is true indeed, that in this kind of writing there is an opportunity of employing all the Ornaments of Eloquence; but it is certain too, that History has her natural graces which she takes from Truth it self: she may besides borrow Beauty of Art; nor is it improper sometimes for her to adorn her self, especially when fiction pretends to outshine her in charms.

In History we find a thousand pleasant passages where Truth is capable of all kind of embellishments, and yet keep its character; but more particularly

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larly when the subject is limited. This is *Salust's* manner, who has by it made himself inimitable. The best *Greek* Historians gave him that Example, which *Appian* also has followed; and it is from this last Authour that this design of an Essay of the *Roman* History is taken, which contains the Story of the two *Triumvirates*.

Without doubt these great Men considered, that the design of a General History was a thing of too great an extent to leave any clear or distinct *Idea's* of the subject of them: for if the sense of the Authour is not confused, yet the mind and attention of the Reader is often tired and confounded by the multitude of different actions and the long succession of years. There is an absolute necessity of retrenching all the ornamental parts of it, shunning particularities and omitting several circumstances which are indeed the pleasantest part of it, and very often are the causes and very hinges of the greatest turns in a History. In short, It is for this kind of writing that the severe Laws of the historical style are made.

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These constraints are not found in particular relations ; there one may study ornament, relate conversations, give an account of letters, draw the characters of the most remarkable personages, and even descend into the particularities of their private lives, and exalt or humble the style as the subject requires. To these other Reasons may be added, but we find that in all excellent writings Men of understanding consult onely their own fancy, and when the manner pleases, none much cares whether it be that of *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* or *Salust*.

However, notwithstanding all this liberty, we have yet endeavoured to make use of no ornamental flourishes, but what the very subject it self affords; and for this reason Descriptions of Provinces and Cities are avoided, and many Speeches are shortned: very often instead of instructing they are tedious, and serve rather to shew the eloquence of the Authour, than explain the matter they treat of. The subject of this ensuing Discourse every where gives opportunities of making remarks. But  
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this in a great measure is the Reader's privilege, which he is unjustly deprived of by the Authour's own reflexions. If here there be any by chance, they are onely in such places where they are necessary to enlighten the Story, and oppose some error of Antiquity.

Perhaps it may be objected, that the Portraits and Descriptions of Persons are superfluous and not to the purpose; but though the example of several the best Writers of that time should not justify it, yet certainly that of *Salust* would authorize it; he who described persons that were living in his time, and which every body should know. In these draughts we have endeavoured not to flatter; and if we have not with some Authours as well ancient as modern agreed in the Praises they have given *Brutus* and *Cæto*, it is because they proposed to themselves a strange *Idea* of Vertue, which since is much amended by the Principles of Christianity: and it may be we have been too severe upon the Fact of *Brutus* against *Cæsar*; but if this be an offence against the Rules of History,



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it is none against the Laws of Honour and Religion.

That which is added concerning the Dignities and the Offices of old *Rome* is not performed with very great exactness; nor is it here pretended to, but onely what is necessary to avoid being obscure: and for this reason have we been obliged to end this Discourse with some remarks upon the proper Names of the *Romans*, and those of their Families; in like manner have we done with the *Roman* Monies and their manner of making War.

There were three kinds of Families in *Rome*. The *Patricians*, who were descended from those of whom *Romulus* and the Kings who succeeded him composed the *Senate*; they called them *Patres*, Fathers, from whence came the word *Patricii*. Such were the *Julii*, the *Clodii*, the *Valerii*, *Cornelii*, the *Junii* and *Fabii*, and divers others. The second order was that of the *Knights*, who composed the body of the *Roman* Cavalry. The third was that of the *People*; but here we must understand that

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that by the word *People* is not understood the *Rabble* or *Mobile*, but onely those civil substantial *Citizens* that had some estate and a right of Voting in the election of Magistrates.

The *Patrician* Families were Noble by their original alone. Those of the two other orders became so too when after several long Contests, Divisions and Seditions, the *People* obtained to have their share in Honours and Offices; then many of the gentlest Persons among the *People* raised their Families by their merit and gallant actions. Such were the *Livii*, of which was *Livia* Wife of *Augustus*, the popular *Clodii* different from the former, the *Decii*, *Drusii*, and in the later days of the *Republick* the *Portian* Family, of which were the two *Cato's*; the *Tullian*, of which was *Cicero*; the *Pompeii*, and many others.

As to the Names of the *Romans* (at least those of Quality) they usually had three; as *Caius Julius Cæsar*, *Marcus Junius Brutus*, almost as we have in *France*. The difference was that the

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Proper or Christian Name which we receive in Baptism was given them from the time or order of their birth; as for example, they called him *Lucius* that was born at break of day, *à luce*; him that was born at the declining of the day *Cains*, *à die cadente*; or *Gaius*, *à gaudio*, from the Joy of his Parents at his birth; *Marcus*, from the month of *March*, &c. So likewise from the order of their being born; as *Quintus*, the Fifth; *Sextus*, the Sixth; *Decimus*, the Tenth; and so of others. The second name was that of the Family; as *Julius*, *Clodius*, *Portius*, *Tullius*, &c. The third was derived from some Imperfection; as *Scævola*, Left-handed; *Strabo*, Purblind; or from some Vertue, as *Pius*, Holy; *Scipio*, the Staff, because he led and bore his Father when he walked; or else from some advantage and perfection of body; as *Celer*, the Swift; *Pulcher*, the Handsome; and from these Instances we may easily find out the reason of the rest.

As to what concerns the Money and Manner of counting among the *Romans*, we have consulted *Budæus* and *Vigenère* who

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who are the most exact *French* Authors that have handled this Subject; but as *Budæus* is the older, and the difference between his calculation and that of this present age is considerable, we have rather followed *Vigenere*, whose computations agree more with the modern accompts. The Coins of the ancient *Romans* were the *As* of Copper, and that of Silver called *Libella*, the *Sesterce*, or *Nummus*, the *Denarius* and the *Drachma*. The *As* which is generally wrong taken for a *Sol* or Penny, according to *Vigenere*, was worth six *Deniers* of *France*, and the *Libella* as much. The *Sesterce*, or *Nummus*, which is also improperly translated a *Crown*, was equivalent to two *As* and a half, which is fifteen *Deniers* of *France*; and four *Sesterces* being ten *As* or five *Souls*, was the value of the *Roman Denarius*, and the *Drachma* was the same.

They usually reckoned either by *Sesterces* or by Talents, the Talent was not the name of a Coin, but of a certain Sum, *Budée* and *Vigenere* both esteem a Talent at six hundred Crowns; but as *Vigenere* well-observes, the Crown  
in

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in *Budaens* his time was worth but thirty five *Sols* ; at this rate the Talent will amount but to a thousand and fifty *Livres* ; and the most part of the modern Authours have stated the Talent at a thousand eight hundred *Livres* : but *Vigonere* in his remarks upon *Livy* has not followed this text ; but tells you that the Crown he means is fifty *Sols* ; so that at this estimation the Talent amounts to a thousand five hundred *Livres* of our Money : this is easie enough , but the reducing the computation of *Sesterces* is much more difficult. There was *SesterCIAS* of the masculine gender and *Sestercium* in the neuter ; the difference between them was considerable : our two Authours explain them by greater and less *Sesterces*. The *Sestercius*, or lesser, is before-mentioned and valued at fifteen *Deniers French* ; but the *Sestercium*, or greater , was as much as a thousand small ones , and makes sixty two *Livres* , ten *Sols* ; and in this manner of reckoning they had three ways, which must be explained from the *Latine* words, *decem Sestercii*, or ten little *Sesterces* , made twelve *Sols* and a half ,  
and



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and the rest in proportion ; and this is the first way of counting. *Decem Sesterčia* , or ten great *Sesterces* , was fix hundred twenty five *Livres* ; and this was the second way : But *Decies Sesterciũm* was an abbreviated way of multiplying either in speaking or writing , which the two forenamed Writers call ten-fold *Sesterces* , which is ten times a hundred ; that is to say , a hundred great *Sesterces* which makes sixty two thousand five hundred *Livres tournois*. After this manner all the Sums were multiplied *vicies* , twenty times ; *tricies* , thirty times , &c. to *centies* , a hundred times , and *millies* , a thousand times ; and so on , still augmenting. Those that have any knowledge of the *Latine* know that here in this place *Sesterciũm* is put for *Sesterriorum* , the genitive plural ; and in writing the Abbreviation of it is by this mark *decies HS*.

There now remains something to be said of the *Romans* way of Fighting and Marshalling their Armies. It is very difficult to know this from *Livy* , who was no Souldier himself ; all that he tells



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tells us is, that they left the *Macedonian* way, which was to draw all their Foot into one Battalion, which the *Greeks* called *Phalanx*, which was a Figure very inconvenient any where unless upon a large Plain. The *Romans* therefore, to avoid this inconvenience, as that Historian says, drew their Troops into *Manipuli*, *Pelottons*, or small bodies: but the Description he gives of it being very confused, we must seek for a clearer from other Authors. Their Infantry they distinguished into heavy and light armed; the former of these too had some difference according to their Wealth and Dignity, as it was regulated by *Servius Tullus* the sixth King of *Rome*; the richest of them, had their Helmet, their *Cuirass*, or Armour, for Back and Breast, their Buskins or Greaves and Buckler of Copper or Brass: And for offensive Arms, the Pike and Sword. Those of a meaner degree had the same Arms, except the *Cuirass*, but their Shield was made of Leather large enough to cover almost their whole body. Those of the third order had no Buskins or Greaves, and these were their heavy armed Foot. In the

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the later times they had besides Javelins or Darts five foot long with three square heads, which they called *Pila*, and these they threw at their first approaches. The light armed Foot wore no defensive Armour; and had onely Slings or Bows, with a Dagger by their sides. Of the former Infantry they formed bodies called Legions, consisting of four, five or six thousand men, (for the number sometime altered) and three or four hundred Horse. These Legions were divided into Centuries, *Manipuli* and Cohorts, as *Gellius* relates, who wrote in the time of the Emperours: the Legion, says he, consists of sixty Centuries, thirty *Manipuli*, and fifteen Cohorts, by which we may know, that when he wrote, the Legion was six thousand men. And this may be easily known too by *Cæsar's* counting *Pompey's* Cohorts at the Battel of *Pharsalia*. The Officer or Colonel who commanded the Legion was called *Legatus*, and he had under him Tribunes who commanded Cohorts, and Centurions, Centuries. As to their order of Battel, *Cæsar* drew his men up always in two or three Lines, *dupli-*  
*ant*

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*aut triplici acie*, even when he speaks of single Legions, which we cannot conceive without imagining they made two or three distinct bodies of one Legion, as now we form one Regiment into several Battalions. 'Tis true indeed some Writers explain this after another manner; but without disputing their opinion, we will follow this method as the most probable, and having most resemblance to the modern Discipline. The *Romans* therefore formed their first Battalions of their youngest raw Souldiers, which they called *Bo-Hastati*; the second were those who had served some years, and were named *Principes*: the old Souldiers were in the rere, and there was the Post of the *Eagles*, which were the Ensigns Colonel and the other Ensigns of the Legions. These old Souldiers, called *Triarii*, waited the Success of the first Battalions; with one Knee upon the ground, and leaning upon their Bucklers: and still as the first bodies were broke or gave way, they retired into the intervals in the rere; and then the third line rose up, and closing the ranks, the Battalions left no interval at all, but

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but marched up to the Enemies , and charged in one continued front. In all these occasions the Horse always acted separate detachments from the Legions, and with the light-armed Foot was posted on the Wings, or right and left of the Army; they were armed almost like the legionary Foot, onely their Javelins were longer, and their Shields were lighter.

This is what hath been thought fit to be explained, but here the Reader is desired to be so charitable as not to think it done to make any vain shew of reading or learning, for every one knows these things are but trifles, and very common amongst the learned: what is done here is onely for the information of those whose business and employments will not permit them to make enquiry themselves among Books of this nature.

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T H E



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THE  
HISTORY  
Of the first  
TRIUMVIRATE.

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Volume I.

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CHAP. I

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*The estate of the Roman Commonwealth after  
Catiline's Conspiracy.*

**N**EVER was the City of Rome  
in such danger since its be-  
ing sack'd and burnt by the  
Gauls, as it appeared to be  
in the Conspiracy of Cati-  
line. It is impossible, in the account Sa-  
lust gives of it, without horror to  
B R. O. reade  
w



reade of the Rage, the Madneſs, the  
 Debauchery and Ambition of that Man,  
 and yet at the ſame time his Addreſs in  
 managing a deſign that was to carry fire  
 and ſword ev'n into the very Bowels of his  
 Countrey. But the wiſedom and vigilancy  
 of *Cicero* hindred its taking effect, and *Ca-*  
~~tiline~~ *was ſlain at the Head of thoſe Troops*  
~~he was leading againſt the City:~~ But nei-  
 ther this man's defeat or death was ſuffici-  
 ent to ſettle ſo firm a peace in that City,  
 but that ſtill ſhe lay expoſed to the enter-  
 priſes which ſome more Ambitious Sena-  
 tours than the reſt were always forming  
 againſt her Liberty. Nor could their In-  
 clinations of that kind meet any where  
 with greater temptation, ſince the Con-  
 queſt of that onely City muſt carry with it  
 the greateſt part of the Universe: In ſhort,  
 after the War of the Confederates, in  
 which all the Armies of *Italy*, jealous of the  
 power and greatneſs of *Rome*, had been in  
 a great many Battels defeated, that part of  
 the World, came to an abſolute ſubmiſſi-  
 on: Half of *Gaul*, and all *Spain* received  
 quietly the Pretors which were ſent to  
 govern them; the Coaſt of *Africk* as far as  
*Egypt*, became ſubject to the *Romans*; and  
*Egypt* her ſelf preſerved its Monarchy  
 onely by the profeſſion which her Kings  
 made to reſpect in all matters the Authori-  
 ty of the Senate. *Syria* was reduced to a  
 Province, and governed by *Roman* Offi-  
 cers,

cers, and after the defeat and death of *Mithridates*, all the Princes of the lesser *Asia* became Tributaries, and thought themselves very happy to be supported by the credit of some of the Senators. *Greece*, though it retained some appearance of liberty became yet more reduced, for besides the rights of Conquest, she found her self under the obligations of Acknowledgment and Allegiance: In short, all that Coast, which stretches it self along the Adriatick Gulph up a good way into *Germany*, was filled with those powerfull Armies that made head against the Barbarians. And the defeat of the *Corsaïres* which *Pompey* had driven into the Mountains of *Cilicia* established the *Roman* Empire over all the Mediterranean Sea: These Conquests had brought into *Rome* daintiness and plenty, and all curious Arts soon followed; Learning became an ordinary Accomplishment even amongst men of the highest Quality. And almost all the Wits of that time were polished and pure, insomuch that that City never afforded so great men for War, Eloquence, Law, Poetry, and all other fine knowledge as at this time; so that it was the more unlikely that Ambition should not find an opportunity to mingle her self among so many extraordinary Qualities. Those men who upon quitting the Charges they had exercised in *Rome*, went to receive those Honours in

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the Provinces which used onely to be allowed to Sovereigns that commanded great Armies; and disposed of Kingdoms, found it very hard upon their return home to reduce themselves to the level of a private life, and forget the sweetness of Command and Power. Envy, as dangerous as it is common to all Republicks, ever took care to make way for it self upon these occasions, and trouble the Quiet even of those who thought of nothing but peaceably enjoying the Honours they had gotten: It appeared for the most part amongst those who had less Desert, less Fortune, but more Ambition than the others; and their pretence was always the publick Good, when they had often no other end than the destruction of every thing that hindered their own elevation. A noble Reputation, great Riches, and acquired Honours passed always amongst them for Qualities dangerous to the Commonwealth: And these Persecutions may have contributed as much to kindling the fire of Civil Wars, as that Ambition which \* *Cesar*, and *Pompey* himself have been so much reproached withall, who never could have put themselves at the head of their different Parties, but that they had really and indeed more merit than the rest. They were both of goodly Personage, Valiant, and equally desirous of Glory. *Cesar* had the advantage of *Pompey* in Birth, being of the most Illustri-

\* Caius  
Julius Cæ-  
sar, Aeneas  
Pompeius  
Magnus,  
the second  
Name  
was that of  
their Fa-  
milies.

Illustrious Family in *Rome* ; he disputed already the prize of Eloquence with the most famous Oratours, and there was nothing that appeared impossible for his great Genius to undertake. *Pompey* had great Riches, the favour of the Senate, and an established Reputation: He had been a General, as soon as he was a Souldier, and although he had never obey'd, was not to seek in the Art of giving Command ; he had won Battels, and deserved the Honour of Triumph at an Age when others onely begin to make themselves taken notice of. It is impossible to tell exactly which of the two had the most repugnancy to Obey, *Cesar* would have no Superiour, and *Pompey* could not bear an Equal. The latter supported himself upon his extraordinary good Fortune, the other by his very great Merit. In short, they were both Brave, Generous and Magnificent. But the lustre of those many Triumphs which *Pompey* had obtained, was no inconsiderable addition to his other great Qualities, so that he passed without contradiction at that time for the first man in *Rome*. *Crassus* onely found himself in a condition to dispute it with him as well by the Nobility and the desert of his Ancestours, as by his great estate, which accumulated to him the surname of Rich. Of which some Judgment may be given from what he himself once said, that he ought not to be esteem-



\* 1500000  
Crowns.

\* Plutarch.

ed a wealthy man, who could not entertain an Army out of his own Revenue. Nevertheless, his own Estate amounted not to above \* six thousand Talents, but that brought him in a very considerable profit by the means of his Slaves, which some Authours say amounted in number to 40000. He had besides all this a great deal of Wit, and was very Eloquent: His good humour and Complaisance were perhaps the effect of his Policy. For when that *Pompey*, puff'd up by his Victories, fancied that it was necessary to his Grandeur to take upon him a haughty behaviour, and to communicate himself to very few; *Crassus* on the contrary was familiar with all the world, and employed his Reputation and his Eloquence at the Bar in the behalf of all such as would apply themselves to him: From whence arose that \* judicious and excellent Observation, That by the lustre of his Actions, *Pompey*, when he was absent, had the advantage of *Crassus*; but so soon as he returned to *Rome*, he lost it again by his manners. Nor was it onely Emulation which caused so great a misunderstanding between them. *Crassus* had other reasons to complain of *Pompey* in relation to the affair of *Spartacus*. This *Spartacus* was a Gladiatour or Fencer that had appeared against the *Romans* at the head of forty thousand of his Companions, and had beaten three of their Armies. At last  
*Crassus*



*Crassus* had the advantage to rout him with a great deal of hazard. *Spartacus* was killed in the fight, and six thousand Gladiatours escaping from the Battel fell into the hands of *Pompey*, as he was returning with his Army out of *Spain*; who slew them all, and then sent word to the Senate, that he had cut up the very roots of that War. This hinder'd *Crassus* from Triumphant, and forced him to sit down contented with the honours of the Ovation, much inferiour to those of the Triumph: This Injury touched him very sharply, and though outwardly matters were brought to some Accommodation between them, and *Crassus* in the presence of the people made the first step towards it, by saying he thought it no shame to seek that man whom they had honoured with the Title of Great, the reconciliation was far from sincerity; for *Crassus* could not hide his regret, nor whenever *Pompey* was named in his hearing with the Title of Great, forbear asking in a scoffing manner, how much he was taller than himself. *Cesar*, who thought himself at this time too young to become the head of a Party, embarked himself in *Crassus* his interest, as well to balance the Credit of *Pompey*, as to assist himself with that of *Crassus* against his own Creditours, who at this time began to be importunate, and yet for all this there was little resemblance between their Inclinations.

\* Lucatius,  
† Calphurnius,  
‡ Claudius,  
\* Tullius.

\* Corneli-  
us.

ons. *Crassus* was a good Husband, even to Avarice; and *Caesar* liberal to Prodigality. Either his love, or his State-Intrigues had already ruined him, and we may judge of his other Expences by the Present he once made to *Servilia* the Mother of *Brutus*, of a Pearl that cost six thousand Sesterces. These three men already began to give suspicion and jealousy to all the other Senators, such as were \* *Catulus*, \* *Bibulus*, and ‡ *Marcellus*, but above all the rest \* *Cicero*, who endeavoured as much as any to signalize his Zeal for the Commonwealth; and though he could pretend no great Authority from his Extraction, nor was much Ambitious to be thought a very great Soldier; yet the advantages of his Wit, the Charms of his Eloquence, and the happy discovery which he had made of *Caesar's* Conspiracy in the time of his Consulship, brought him into very great consideration: But besides that, this Action (of which he always in his Harangues took occasion to make mention, and very often too to very little purpose had occasioned some railery upon his Vanity: the Punishment of \* *Lenulus* and other great Ones concerned in the Conspiracy, had created him many powerful Enemies. And it may be upon that occasion the Troubles of *Rome* were renew'd.

CHAP.

## CHAP. II.

*Cæsar's design upon Cicero, and Cicero's reply to Metellus Nepos.*

**C***æsar* had had very strait Alliances with many of *Catiline's* Accomplices, which made him not altogether unsuspected: But *Cicero* thought it not fit to insist much upon that point, lest his Credit might become an Argument in favour of the other Offenders. *Cæsar* had other Causes to be angry with the Senate, by reason of some dispute he had with them during the time of his being Pretor: He consulted with *Metellus* \* *Nepos*, Tribune of the People, to bring *Cicero* to an account of his Conduct; and *Nepos*, seconded by † *Bestia*, the other Tribune, declared † *Calpurnius* aloud; that he could not suffer that *Cicero* should have the liberty of speaking to the people in quitting his Consulship, in regard that he himself had Condemned Senators without hearing their Defences. It is true, that *Cicero* had done so by reason of the present danger, but it is true too, that he did it with the advice of the Senate: Nevertheless, when he presented himself to speak, the Tribunes opposed him, and onely would permit him to take the usual Oath; which was, That he had never done any thing to the prejudice of the

the Commonwealth: *Cicero*, who upon that occasion was very present to himself, contrived to turn all that Indignity they designed him, to his Honour, and swore that he not onely had not prejudiced the Commonwealth, but had saved the Senate, and the People of *Rome*. All the Assembly Applauded the thing; and the next day *Cicero* complained to the Senate of the insolency of the Tribunes. To this *Nepos* made his reply, and in the heat of the dispute, *Cicero*, who never wanted an Answer, had an occasion of making a very good one: For *Nepos*, who mistook the extraction of *Cicero*, demanded of him very often, who was his Father? To which he replied; *If any Credit may be given to the behaviour of your Mother, that were a harder Question for you to answer than me.* Afterwards, when the matter was put to a debate, the Senate judged that for the reputation of their Authority, they ought to stand by *Cicero*, and so made a Decree that no body should be called henceforward to account for the death of any of the Conspiratours, and that they who should presume to speak before the People, should be looked upon as Enemies to their Countrey: The Tribunes provoked by that Decree, which ty'd up their mouths, and established, as they said, the Tyranny of *Cicero*, proposed to the People by the advice of *Cesar*, to recall *Pompey*, who at that time

time Commanded a powerfull Army in *Asia*; the pretence was to put into his care the interests of the Commonwealth, which this new growing Tyranny seem'd to threaten. But *Cesar's* secret designs indeed were to unite himself with him: This Proposition entangled the Senatours, many of whom were *Pompey's* Friends, and the other afraid of his Army, so that they durst not openly oppose it; but were for finding out some one man, who upon that occasion would for their interests sacrifice himself to the hatred of *Pompey*: \* *Cato* offered himself very frankly, and perhaps was drawn into it by the cunning of *Cicero*. *Cato* had been bred up in the Austere Maximes of his great Grand-father, *Cato* the Censor, and in the rigid Opinions of the Stoicks: *Cicero* knew his Character very well, and has defined it very pleasantly, that he was severe in his Manners, steady in his Conduct, unalterable in his Opinions, pitiless towards Offenders, and no mincer of faults, believing that a wise man could never be deceived, and therefore never repented, and that the Vertuous onely were really happy, rich and handsome; in a word, of an excellent disposition, but seldom thought right, and one that spoke in the Senate, as if he had been in the Commonwealth of *Plato*, when he was in the midst of the corruptions of *Rome*. To speak truth, he was the onely man amongst them

\* *Marcus Porcius Cato.*



them that heartily designed the real good of the Republick, and it was by that he justly acquired the reputation of his Virtue. He was at that time Tribune of the people with *Nepos* and *Bestia*; the principal Authority of which charge consisted in putting stop to any thing which other Magistrates might propose to the prejudice of the people: So he opposed in the Senate the Opinion of *Nepos*, and afterwards when that Tribune brought the matter before the people, and had gathered together a great many Souldiers in Arms to make the Law pass. *Cato* onely presented himself with \**Thermus* one of his Acquaintance, and looking upon those that threatned him, with an undaunted air, he went and seated himself between *Cesar* and *Nepos*. He told *Nepos*, That it argued very little Courage in him to Assemble together so many men in Arms against one single, and without any; and afterwards when the Register would have read the Edict, he tore it out of his hand. *Nepos*, who knew it by heart, would have pronounced it, but *Thermus* laid his hand upon his mouth. At which, *Nepos* gave the sign to his Souldiers, when instantly, and in a moments time, Volleys of Clubs and Stones were flying round the place, the people ran away, and *Cato* had certainly been slain, had not \**Murena* covered him with his Robe, and Conducted him into the Temple of *Castor* and

\**Minutius*.

\**Lucius*  
\**Murena*.

and *Pollux* : Upon which occasion this Action of *Murena* appeared the more generous in that he exposed his life for a man who not long before had accused him of Crimes to take it away. The people enraged, returned a moment after in great numbers, and drove away the Souldiers of *Nepos*. *Cato* came back again upon the place, and exhorted the *Romans*, if they would ever now to give Testimony of their Courage : In fine, the Law did not pass ; and *Nepos* after a great many Threatnings thought fit to withdraw himself from *Rome*, and went to find out *Pompey*.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. III.

Concerning Clodius, and the return of Pompey.

**L**OVE, or rather that Debauchery which reigned in *Rome*, even to excess, came at last (as it usually does) to increase disorders, and furnish out new matter for the Spirit of Sedition and Revenge to work upon. *Clodius* a young man of a Noble Family, rich, and well accomplished, was one of those that affected to be thought well with the Ladies; and manag'd matters with so little discretion, that the scandal of the times did not spare him even in relation to his own Sisters, whereof he had three Married to Men of the best Quality, *Martius* surnamed *Rex*, \* *Metellus Celer*, Brother to *Nepos*, and *Lucullus*. He was at that time in love with *Pompeia*, *Cesar's* Wife, but that Lady was too closely guarded under the Conduct of *Anrelia*, a Woman of untainted Vertue, and *Cesar's* Mother: Now the *Romans* observed a certain Festival, which they called the Feast of the Good Goddess, who was a Nymph, espoused of *Fannus*, wherein the Women onely had right of assisting at the Sacrifices, which they performed every year in the house of one of the Magistrates, from whence the men were obliged to withdraw

\* *Cæcilius*  
*Marcus*  
*Lucullus*.

draw themselves; one onely being enough to profane the Mysteries, should he be present: *Clodius* thought this opportunity might be favourable to him for the obtaining some moments conversation with *Pompeia*, who then presided at the Ceremony, the Feast being kept at her House, by reason her Husband was *Pretor*. He disguised himself in the habit of a Woman, and was introduced by a Slave, who immediately ran to give her Mistress notice. But she not returning so soon as was expected, *Clodius* rash and impatient, venturing farther into the House, was stopt upon the stairs by a Woman that belonged to *Anre-lia*, who knowing him by his voice, gave a great shriek, and Allarum'd the Company. The Feast was disturbed, the Mysteries presently shut up and concealed, and the Women immediately upon search for *Clodius*, who having made his escape out of her hands who discovered him, had concealed himself in the Chamber of the Slave that first brought him thither, where at last he was found, and driven out of the House with Reproaches and Infamy. This adventure became the next days publick discourse, and every body was asham'd at the story. But *Cesar* resolv'd to take the wisest and most honourable course he could, and being unwilling, (as his Affairs then stood,) to make any man his Enemy, was contented, without declaring against  
his

his Wife, to put her away privately, and being afterwards asked the Reason, said, he did not believe her guilty. But that the Wife of *Caesar* ought to have preserved her self from the suspicion, as well as the Crime. *Cornificius* made a report of this matter in an Assembly of the Senate, who referring it to the consideration of the Vestals and chief Priests, they declared their Opinion that it was an Offence of the highest nature against the Gods and their Religion: It was then put to the Question for the exhibiting of Informations, and appointing Judges; Upon this occasion, the whole City became divided, and the Animosities of the Factions were renewed. *Caesar* upon the expiration of his Pretorship was to go and take possession of the Government of *Spain*, but was retarded by the Prosecution of his Creditours. *Crassus* who was his Friend, and wrought upon by the importunities of his Wife *Tertulla*, who no less loved *Caesar* than *Clodius* did *Pompeia*, became security for him in the sum of Eight hundred and thirty Talents. It was in this Government that *Caesar* viewing the statue of *Alexander*, wept to think that he had done nothing great and memorable, at an Age wherein that Prince had Conquered almost all the World. And he gave indeed sufficient marks and evidences of his Bravery and desire of Glory, for he reduced all those Nations to be Tributaries to the  
the



the Romans, and collected together so vast a Treasure to himself, and in the name of the Commonwealth, as enabled him afterwards to imitate that *Alexander*. *Pompey* was now returned home to *Rome*, covered with Glories for the defeat of *Mithridates*, and the Conquest of the greater part of *Asia*: He had upon his arrival in *Italy*, sent back his Troops to prevent such suspicions as might arise from his coming at the head of an Army, so that he obtained the honour of Triumph with a general Applause, and with so much more Splendour, in regard that he now Triumphed over another third part of the World, after having received the same Honour for the Conquest of two parts before. The Triumph lasted two days, wherein were exposed the names of fifteen Conquer'd Provinces, eight hundred Cities, and a thousand Castles. The Gold, the Silver, and the Jewels that made up part of this publick Pomp, amounted to the value of two Millions of Gold: He made it appear by an account plainly stated, that he had improved the revenue of the Commonwealth twelve Millions, without mentioning what he had distributed amongst his Men of War, whereof the meanest Soldiers share was a hundred and fifty Crowns. Amongst his Prisoners appeared the Son of *Tygranes*, the King of *Armenia*, with his Wife and Daughter. *Zozima* the Wife of

C King

\* The People of that Countrey, called now Georgia.

† The People inhabiting near the Caspian Sea.

‖ A Neighbouring Province to Syria.

\* The year after the foundation of Rome, 693.

King *Tygranes* himself. *Aristobulus* King of the Jews. The Sister of *Mithridates*, with five of her Children. The Ladies of *Scythia*, and the \* *Hyberian*, and † *Albanian* Hostages, with those of the King of ‖ *Comagena*. But one disgustfull thing in his Family, troubled all the Joy which the lustre of so much glory might else have given him; his Wife *Mutia* had not seen *Cesar* with altogether somuch Caution as was requisite, and some people more officious than was necessary, had taken pains to give him notice of it upon his first coming down into *Italy*, so that immediately after his Arrival at *Rome*, he put her away. Besides, *Pompey* found an occasion not to be very well pleased with the Senate, for (in regard that those who demanded the Triumph, were not permitted to enter the City,) he had desired the Election of Consuls might be deferred till after his Triumph was over, that he might be present to assist the Pretensions of *Piso* one of his Lieutenants, *Cato* opposed it, and persuaded the Senate to reject the demand. But the People resolved to maintain the Authority of *Pompey*, and *Piso* was chosen Consul with \* *Messala*: *Pompey* afterwards solicited that all things done by him in *Asia* and elsewhere, might be confirmed and approved of. But all other matters were now set aside for the dispatching the business of *Clodius*, who desiring to know if

if the choice of the Judges were in the Pretor or the People : *Pompey* avoided the declaring himself upon that Point: but *Messala*, *Crassus*, *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Lucullus*, and all the honest Party were for the Pretor. *Piso* the Consul assisted by *Curio* at the head of all the young Men, appeared on the other side. And the matter was debated with a great deal of sharpness. *Cato* inveighed against the Consul; *Clodius*, who was present, answered him with Anger, and in his speeches uttered reproachfull Language against *Lucullus*, *Hortensius*, and *Messala* himself. In short, after a high and hot Contest both in the Senate, and before the People, *Hortensius* a Noble Senatour, and one not inferiour for Eloquence to *Cicero* himself, proposed the Publishing of the Edict by *Fufius* the Tribune. The People insisted upon their Right of chusing the Judges, and by the underhand management of *Clodius*, at last they were named. He alledged, that upon the day of the Festival of the Good Goddess he was not in *Rome*; and offered to prove it. Now *Cicero* had had an Intrigue with one of *Clodius* his Sisters, who thought to have Married him. But his Wife *Terentia*, a haughty and jealous Woman, quickly broke off that Correspondence, and made her Husband depose, that upon the very same day whereon *Clodius* pretended not to have been in *Rome*, he made him a visit

at his House. This Action, the effect of a Womans Jealousie, was the Fountain of all that hatred which *Clodius* afterwards conceived against *Cicero*; and which, upon the rebound, affected, even the Republick it self, in obliging him to contribute so much as he did to the union of *Cesar* and *Pompey*. Now then, his Evidence being received with Honour; and the Judges demanding Guards for their safety, *Clodius* by his Cunning and Money carried the Cause, and of the fifty Judges that were appointed, thirty appeared and declared for him: Upon which occasion, *Cicero* told *Clodius* (who reproached him, for that the Judges would not credit him) *they are the thirty who took your Money when they would not take your word, the other twenty were satisfied with mine: And Catulus* seeing them returning from the place where they gave Judgment, Rallied them, saying, *They had done wisely to desire Cuards, they might else have been robb'd of the Money they had gotten.* This Decree of Judgment offended all the honefter sort in *Rome*; and *Cicero* above the rest, who had rashly drawn upon himself the hatred of a Man, of so great Credit, and one rash and violent, even to madness; so that from that time he thought to assist himself, by making a friendship with *Pompey* against *Clodius*, who meditated nothing but Revenge, and to bring

bring it in some measure about, had contrived under-hand to get himself the Tribuneship. But considering he was of one of the first Families of the Patricians, who never were wont to be received into those charges, *Metellus* his own Brother-in-Law opposed his Design, and he lost it.

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#### CHAP. IV.

*Pompey makes the Consuls: He ruffles the Senate. The union of Cæsar and Pompey.*

AFTER this, *Pompey* again began to solicit the Confirmation of all that he had done in *Asia*, and a reward for his Souldiers, for which he demanded the setting apart of certain Lands: He had already prevailed by his Credit in the Election of two Consuls, *Metellus Celer*, and \* *Afranius*, but quickly found himself mistaken in his Choice: *Afranius*, who was a man wholly given over to his Pleasure, never acquired to himself any Authority in the Senate; and *Metellus* drowned every thought of any new obligation he had to *Pompey*, in remembrance of the Disgrace done to his Sister *Mutia*. *Cato* on the other side set all his Power against the Interests of *Pompey*, and *Lucullus* was for being revenged of him, for that he had

\* The year  
of Rome,  
699.



deprived him of the Honour of Trium-  
phing over *Mithridates*: The ordinary me-  
thods upon these Occasions, was the gain-  
ing of the Tribunes. The People being  
always managed and guided by those Ma-  
gistrates set over them for the defence of  
their Privileges against the Senate, and it  
was upon this pretence the Tribunes usually  
supported themselves, their Authority  
well managed, being so highly respected,  
that they had power of Imprisoning even  
the Consuls themselves. *Flavius* one of  
these Tribunes, proposed the Edict or  
Law for the reward of the Souldiers. *Me-  
tellus* interposed with his Authority for the  
hindrance of it, till the Contest rising  
even to blows and bloudshed, the Tri-  
bune caused the Consul to be Arrested;  
and when the Senate in a whole body  
would have made themselves Prisoners  
with him, placed his Tribunal at the Prison  
door, and forbad them entrance. Upon  
which the Senate caused in another place  
the walls to be broken down, so that by  
these means it came to pass that private ha-  
tred, interest, and each particular passion, be-  
gan dayly to mingle themselves in *Rome*, dis-  
guised in the business of the Common-  
wealth. And by this example we may  
reasonably judge of all other such Quarrels;  
The constancy of the Senate began to shake  
the resolutions of the People, who evermore  
judge of all extraordinary Actions by their  
out-

outward appearances. This *Pompey* quickly perceived, and made it his request to the Tribune, that matters might be accommodated, pretending Commission from *Metellus* for his so doing, which he that well understands the firmness and resolution of that Consul will find very hard to believe. Now *Cesar* had very good intelligence of all these disturbances, and of the reasons *Pompey* had to be dissatisfied, so that he now resolved either to improve his own Authority with the Senate, or take some handsome opportunity to quit their interest: His services in *Spain* had deserved the Honour of Triumph, since it had been often allowed upon less occasions, inso-much that he demanded it, and declared at the same time his design was to pursue also the Consulship. Now these demands were inconsistent, for that the Law forbids any one that demanded the Triumph entrance into the City, and required that whosoever sued for the Consulship, must doe it in his proper Person. *Cesar* therefore sent his Letters to the Senate, desiring that he might be dispensed withall in respect of those Formalities. But *Cato* in his usual manner stood up for the maintaining of the Laws to their utmost rigour, and his Opinion prevailed above all others, so that then *Cesar* without any farther consideration resolved to renounce the Triumph, and came to *Rome* to sollicite the

Consulship. And as he very well understood the Credit of *Pompey*, and was not ignorant of his Quarrel to the Senate, this appeared no unfavourable juncture for him to engage himself into his Interests. *Pompey* on the other side was no less glad to gain a man of such extraordinary Merit, and the Friends of both Parties began to promise themselves no small advantages from the union, so that it was easily brought about, and their Alliance confirmed by mutual Oaths. When this was done, *Caesar* made it his business to bring *Crassus* into the League, who seeing his interest too weak to dispute it with two such Men, was easily persuaded to strengthen it by joining with theirs, and *Caesar* being made Judge of the Dispute between *Pompey* and him, managed the matter so well, that a perfect Reconciliation was established between them, and all the Subjects of their former differences utterly forgotten. Now nothing could appear outwardly an Action of more Honour, than the reconciling of two men, whose hatred might have produced so terrible effects as theirs: But that League which was called afterwards the *Triumvirate* was the first power that ever broke in upon the Liberty of *Rome*.

## CHAP. V.

*Cæsar's Consulship, and what follow'd.*

THE first effect of it was the promotion of *Cæsar* to the Consulship: he had two that stood against him; *Luceius* who was very Covetous, and very Rich, and *Bibulus*: *Luceius* was taken off by great Promises, and bribed to bring what voices he could for *Cæsar*: The Senatours who supported *Bibulus*, made a voluntary Collection among themselves, and gave as much on their side: So that *Bibulus* was chosen with *Cæsar*. *Cato* himself being perswaded to believe that the Law which forbad all manner of Bribery on these occasions, ought nevertheless at that time to give place to the interest of the Commonwealth. In a word, *Cæsar* was chosen one, and from that time wholly apply'd himself to win the favour of the People, and the Argument he wrought by, was the *Agrarian* Law; this Law was a Proposition for the disposal of such Lands as belong'd to the Republick in common, in favour of the poor Souldiers, and such of the People as had more than three Children. The People it is to be imagined were always very well pleased with this Proposition. For the most violent Mutinies that had  
ever

\* Tiberius  
and Caius,  
who strongly  
asserting  
that Law,  
were slain  
by the Se-  
natours.  
The name  
of their  
Family  
was Sem-  
pronius.

ever hapned in the City of *Rome*, (such as those of the \* *Gracchi*, and others) had been made upon this occasion, and Examples are to be found of the like nature in all the Roman History. *Cesar* had besides taken very proper methods; for the Law was drawn in Terms so very just, that no Censure could find fault with it. He declared to the Senatours that he would think of doing nothing without their Authority, that he would not propose any of his Friends, or any body else that might be liable to suspicion as Commissioners for the disposal of it, but that they should be all Persons of Condition, such as had well discharged themselves of great Employments, and were of known Reputation and Ability: This fair and cautious way of dealing left hardly any room for contradiction. But all this while the Senate had it in their Power, if they thought fitting to oppose this Law. So that from day to day the affair was adjourned: Till at last *Cato* pulling off the Mask, declared how it was not to be suffered that any thing of the present Estate should be changed, the Senatours all pronounced their Opinion to be the same, and *Cesar* complaining of the injustice and stubbornness of the Senate remitted the affair to the People, taking with him *Pompey* and *Crassus*, whose advice he asked concerning this Law: They both of them approved  
of



of it, and *Pompey* declared that if those who opposed it should come with their Swords in their hands, he would oppose his Sword and his Shield against them, so a day was appointed for the publishing of this Law. The People gathered together in great numbers, and spight of all opposition to the contrary, drove *Cato* and *Bibulus* himself with stones and clubs from off the place; the Consuls Axes were broken in pieces, and the People approving the Ordinance, declared they would have all the Senatours swear to the observation of it. Almost all of them took the Oath except *Cato*, *Metellus* and *Favonius*, who nevertheless made shift to swallow it at last, to save the Fines that were setting on their heads: From this time *Bibulus* never durst venture to appear in publick, and *Cesar* declared that he would not call the Senate any more that year: He nevertheless proceeded to pass several Edicts before the People in spight of those which *Bibulus* had caused to be fixed up against him, and *Pompey*, whom he already had by his discourse brought into an ill Opinion with the People, as did appear from the Games which were celebrated in the honour of *Apollo*, where an excellent Comedian called *Diphilus*, speaking these Verses,

*By our misfortunes thou dost great appear,  
That Title once may chance to cost thee dear.*

The People gave a general Applause, and made the Player repeat it over and over. Now this made *Pompey* think it convenient to enter into a stricter union with *Cesar*, by the Alliances of Consanguinity. So he Wedded *Julia* the Daughter of *Cesar*, who was very Beautifull, very Vertuous, and lived very well with him; *Cesar* took also to Wife *Calphurnia*, the Daughter of *Lucius Piso*, whom they designed Consul for the year ensuing, with *Gabinus* a Creature of *Pompey's*. In short, all that *Pompey* had done in *Asia* was confirmed and approved of, and the Government of all *Gaul* and *Illyria* was given to *Cesar* for five years, with the command of four Legions.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. VI.

*The pursuit of Cæsar's Consulship. The Affair of Vettius; Clodius admitted into the popular Order. The Banishment of Cicero.*

THIS manner of proceeding extremely Allarum'd the Senate, every one laugh'd at them publickly for their idleness, and negligence, and at the head of those Acts where used to be inscribed the names of the Consuls, some body or other instead of *Cæsar* and *Bibulus*, wrote onely *Caius Cæsar*, and *Julius Cæsar*, which were onely two names, belonging to one man; besides the Affair of *Vettius* appeared greatly to increase suspicion, which was thus. He declared that *Bibulus*, *Lucullus*, *Domitius* and *Curio* had endeavour'd the persuading of him to murther *Pompey*; indeed he did not name *Cicero*, but gave very shrewd signs of him, by saying, That a certain man of consular Dignity, very Eloquent, and a Neighbour to *Bibulus*, had told him that they never stood in more need than now of a man bold and enterprising as \* *Hala*, or the † *Ancient Brutus*. Adding moreover, that *Bibulus* had given him a Dagger. This last deposition appear'd but as a mere jeast to the Senate, as if Daggers had been so very scarce at *Rome*, that no man

\* *Servilius, who kill'd Metius, when he aspired to the Tyranny.*

† *He who drove the Tarquins out of Rome.*

man could furnish himself with one, but at the hands of a Consul: Besides, *Bibulus* himself had given *Pompey* notice to beware of some Treason which threatned him; it came to pass too, afterwards, that *Vettius* named *Paulus*, for the chief of the Conspiracy, and it is very much to be believed that there were some more particular reasons than ordinary that moved him to it. *Cicero* says it was *Caesar*, who had a mind to bring a reproach upon *Curio*, a young man of great expectations, but utterly opposite to his interest. In short, the Senate committed *Vettius* to Prison, upon pretence that he had worn Arms contrary to the Law in that case provided. So that every body according to their own inclination gave their particular account of this business: But all disputes of that nature were quickly ended by the fate of *Vettius*, who died in Prison, and being one of but obscure condition, there was no body who took very great pains to enquire how he came by his end. The management of *Cicero* in all this business began to render him very much suspected to the Triumvirate, and he had lost his reputation with them utterly by a discourse which he made against *Caesar* in pleading for *Caius Antonius*, who had been his Colleague in the Consulship. *Caesar* thought it not by any means worth his while to contend with *Cicero* in ill Language and Railing, and therefore took

took another way to revenge himself, and the very same day wrought the People to give their consent for the Adoption of *Clodius*. This man who laboured by all means imaginable for the ruine of *Cicero*, aspired (as was said before) to the charge of the Tribuneship, and to take away the objection against that pretence, of his being of the Family of the *Patricians*, had procured himself to be Adopted by a man among the People, called *Flavius*. Now it was necessary that the People should confirm this Adoption by their Approbation, and this was brought to pass wholly by the Authority of *Cesar*. *Cicero* was too-sharp sighted not to discern easily whether this matter tended; but was sufficiently convinced when he saw *Clodius* made Tribune of the People: He appealed for Protection to the Senate, and laboured underhand among the order of Knights, with whom he was in very great esteem, in regard that he had once fallen out with *Cato* himself, for the supporting of the Farmers in their Rights of the Commonwealth, who were almost all of them belonging to that order. But his strongest hope was in the Friendship of *Pompey*, with whom he had always preserved a very strict Alliance: But *Pompey* had already sacrificed every thing of that kind to the inclinations of *Cesar* and *Crassus*, whom *Cicero* had mortally offended by  
that



that eternal itch which he had to be jeasting. *Pompey* assured him nevertheless of his Protection; and *Cesar* offered to make him his Lieutenant General: 'tis true, he had a very good stomach to that employment: But *Pompey* advised him not to leave *Rome*, and *Clodius* found too a device now to delude him with false hopes of Reconcilement, by the means of his Sister, (whom some of *Cicero's* Friends entirely governed) to the end that he might be confounded, and born down, e'er he could think of any measures for his defence: In short, all the world conspired to deceive him, the piercing judgment and delicacy of Apprehension, upon which he was wont so much to value himself, became absolutely unserviceable upon this occasion, and he knew not what was contrived against him till it was too late, and impossible to avoid it. *Clodius* by the distributions of Corn, which he made of his own free gift among the Poor, began to get ground in the good Opinion of the People, and afterwards forbad the Censors to set the mark of Infamy upon any man, without the consent of the Senatours, and Roman Knights. At last, which was the principal movement of all, he proposed the Law for enquiring into all such as had caused any Roman Citizen to be put to death, without having time given him to make his defence. And now every one began to see the danger

ger which threatned *Cicero*; all his wonted constancy forsook him, and he went up and down the City, soliciting his Cause from House to House in a mourning Robe, with his Beard grown long, and his hair unregarded, attended by Roman Knights, to the number of twenty thousand, all bearing him company; and beseeching in his behalf: Besides, a great many young men of Noble Families, who had learnt of him the rules of Eloquence, and amongst the rest the very Sons of *Crassus*. But *Clodius*, followed by a number of armed Souldiers, insulted over him, and reproached him with the meanness of his behaviour, till it almost came to the throwing of stones and dirt at each other. But the respect which was always had to the Office of Tribunes, their Persons being held as Sacred, hindred any of *Cicero's* side from returning the injuries that were offered, yet nevertheless the Senatours were of Opinion to order a general habit of mourning; but *Piso* and *Gabinus*, who were Consuls, hindered the debate from coming to any conclusion, and *Clodius* summoning them to appear before the People, all that *Piso* said, was, That he took no delight in Cruelty, but *Gabinus* condemned the Consulship of *Cicero*. His onely retreat now was to the favour of *Pompey*, who was indeed able to have done him good service, as well by the Alliance he had with *Clodius*, as also by his Authority with *Gabinus*, who depended absolutely upon him: But *Pompey* would

D

have

have nothing to doe in the matter, and when *Cicero* came to prefer his Cause to him, made his escape by a back door to avoid seeing of him. He found himself now reduced to the last necessity of taking up Arms for the defence of his life, which he might easily have done, and would have found a great many followers. But War was not his Province, or as he said himself, Not being able to bear the bloudshed of his Countrey-men, and Fellow-Citizens, he resolved upon the advice of *Caio* and the rest of his Friends, to withdraw himself: so taking a little statue of *Minerva*, which he had in his House, he carried it to the Capitol, and made a Dedication of it there, with this Inscription, *To Minerva the Guardian of the City*. So immediately left *Rome*, and went into *Sicily*. After this retreat, *Clo-dius* caused *Cicero* to be banished by the Votes of the People, forbidding any one to receive, or give him entertainment within five hundred miles of the City. After this he caused his Palaces both in the City and the Countrey, to be demolished, and Dedicated the ground whereon that in the City stood, to the Goddess *Concordia*, which was a proceeding never till then used towards any man, who had not been declared a Traitor to the Commonwealth. In short, he omitted nothing which might express all that it was possible for hatred and revenge to inspire.

## CHAP. VII.

*The departure of Cæſar for the Gallick War,  
and the return of Cicero.*

AS we may juſtly call theſe Proceedings the Preludes of Civil War, in regard they were effects of the Union of *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, which according to the Opinion of *Cato*, ruined the Foundations of the Roman Liberty. It will be neceſſary that we now come to particulars. *Cæſar* left *Rome* at this time, and indeed with ſomething more haſte than was ordinary. In regard he was threatned to be called to an account of his Conduct during his Conſulſhip; ſome Tribunes of the People whom he had gained to his Party, oppoſed the buſineſs, in regard he was then abſent upon the Service of the Commonwealth, yet could not carry it ſo, but that his Queſtor or Treasuſer was condemned. *Cæſar* was then beginning the War againſt the *Gauls*, whom he afterwards Conquered, *Pompey* remaining alone at *Rome* with an abſolute Authority, for *Cræſſus* appeared wholly taken up with increaſing his own private Fortune, and improving its Revenues; *Cicero* was Banished, and *Lucullus*, who was the onely man capable of diſputing the firſt Poſt, by his merit, and the great Actions he had done, had ſetled himſelf in a private retreat, where he enjoyed all thoſe pleaſures of Magnificence,

and perfect living, upon which the Proverb was afterwards grounded of *Lucullus* his Meal. Now this opportunity put it into *Clodius's* head (who was as vain and extravagant as was necessary for such a Project) to establish his Reputation upon the Ruine of *Pompey's*. The happy success of his Designs hitherto, and the favour of the People, made nothing appear impossible to his hopes. So he immediately took off *Cato* upon pretence of sending him against *Ptolemy* King of *Cyprus*. *Claudius* thought himself injured by that Prince; because, when he was a Prisoner among the Corsaires, he sent him onely two Talents to pay his Ransome: This *Ptolemy* was very rich, and having gotten intelligence that the Romans would declare War against him, put himself to Sea with the best part of his Treasure. *Clodius* apply'd himself next to the business of *Pompey*, setting the Sons of *Tygranes*, over whom *Pompey* had Triumphed, out of Prison. *Gabinus* would needs oppose this mad proceeding, but *Clodius* guarded by armed Slaves, whom he had drawn out of the Mountains of *Tuscany*, attack'd him upon the place, broke the Axes which were carry'd before him, as Consul, and wounded a great many of those that followed him. Now *Pompey* saw by this, that it was high time for him to take other measures, and upon consideration could think of no man so fit for the purpose, as *Milo*, who was then too Tribune, a man fond of any under-



undertaking, wherein there appeared a prospect of Preferment; besides, he was *Cicero's* Friend, and stout to the last extremity: *Pompey* resolved too to have *Cicero* recalled, and to that end used his best interest with his Friends: To this design, *Clodius* opposed himself, and was seconded in it by his Brother *Appius*, and *Metellus Nepos*, who was chosen Consul for a little while, and had been an ancient Enemy of *Cicero's*: The other Consul *Lentulus*, whom *Clodius* hated; for that he had been against him in the affair of *Pompeia*, declared himself openly for *Cicero*, as did all the Senate. Upon this, *Quintus* follows with all diligence the calling home of *Cicero* his Brother, and *Milo* was to publish the Proclamation: Therefore as each of these two Parties supported themselves under the Authority of one of the Consuls, the Sedition grew to be very terrible. Now the Romans were wont to be very expensive in the Pomp of their Funerals, and amongst many other shews, used to exhibite those which were called the *Funeral Sports*, where after a barbarous manner the Gladiatours fought to the utmost earnest, and slew one another in honour of the dead person, whose Memory they Celebrated: *Appius* had upon this occasion a great number of these to pay those last Offices of Duty to one of his dead Relations. *Clodius* assisted by these Gladiatours, threw himself among the People that were gathered together for the recalling of *Cicero*: Upon which

arose the most horrid disorders imaginable: many of the People were killed, the Tribunes were wounded, and *Quintus* was almost overwhelmed with the bodies of the dead, so that the People, unprepared for such a surprisal, separated themselves and fled. But after a day or two *Milo* seized upon *Clodius*, and carried him before the Pretors, to answer for those violences, *Metellus* forbade the Pretors to take any cognisance of the matter, so that at last *Milo* gathering together the trustiest of his Friends, and being guarded by the Gladiatours of *Pompey*, fiercely Conducted *Cicero's* Brother into the publick place. This Tribune indeed seemed as if made on purpose for the opposing of *Clodius*, for he was every way as mutinous as he, but at the bottom was stouter, *Clodius* upon this returns, where it wanted but a hairs breadth of coming to a downright Battel, but that after a little blood drawn as well on one side, as the other, *Clodius* was beaten off, and *Mark Anthony*, who was young, and at that time in *Cicero's* Party follow'd him with his Sword in his hand, and had certainly killed him, had he not made his escape into the house of a certain Bookseller, who concealed him under his Books. So that *Cicero's* Friends remaining Masters of the Field, caused a Decree to be passed for his return, and there appeared at that time so good an understanding between the Senate and the People, that of four hundred Senatours, there was

none

none but *Clodius*, who was not for him; we may see in his works the Glory and Pomp of his return, with what an Air he spoke, and after what manner he treated those that had injured him, how he transported himself against *Piso*, *Gabinus*, and even poor *Clodia* too, whose Reputation he Massacred after a most merciless manner in the defence of *Cælius*. But this being little to our present purpose, let it suffice to say, that as he had too much wit not to take warning by Examples past, he took care to reform his Conduct and his Manners; he therefore applyed himself wholly to *Pompey*, whom he finding leagued so absolutely with *Cæsar*, durst not attempt the breach of their Alliance, judging very well (as he himself has expressed it) that it would have been but folly to have hoped it, and insolence to have proposed it; He therefore sent his Brother into *Cæsar's* service, and maintain'd that way an honest and fair Correspondency. In short, he took all the measures of an exact Courtier, as well (as he himself afterwards acknowledged) in respect of their present Union, as of the Division that might in time happen between them.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Cicero unites himself with Pompey, who is chosen Consul with Crassus. Their union with Cæsar after the first Triumvirate.*

UPON this return of *Cicero*, there arose so great a want and scarcity in the City, especially of Corn, that the People were gathered together twice, and almost ready to stone the Consul, threatening to fire the Temple of *Concord* where the Senate was assembled; *Clodius* besides exaggerated their madness, by laying all to *Cicero's* charge, so that that night they demanded the distribution of Corn from *Cicero*, with great noise and clamour, and the next day again at the very door of the Senate-house, which obliged him to propose, that *Pompey* might be Commissioned to manage the Provisions of *Rome*, with an absolute Authority, both by Land and Sea for the space of five years. Nor could he better acquit himself of the obligations he had to *Pompey*, than by putting into his hands the whole strength of the Commonwealth, and in consideration of the present exigency, his advice was approved of. But it was believed, and *Clodius* took upon him to declare it publickly, that the want of Corn was no better than a design contrived betwixt them both, for the bringing about that purpose, since immediately, upon putting the business into *Pompey's* hands, there appeared

peared all the Plenty imaginable, and the Authority remained in him five years. In the mean time, as *Caesar's* Conquests established him great reputation at *Rome*, so his Humanity, and other excellent qualities, absolutely gain'd to him the hearts and affections of the Souldiery under his Command; neither did the business of his Wars abroad employ him so much, but that he had an eye too towards his affairs at home. He took care to send Magnificent Presents to the Ladies, and all those that were in any Authority; the Voluntiers, who went with him into *Gaul*, were entertained by him with a thousand obligations, and returned home full of the Praises of his Generosity. He returned afterwards to Winter in *Italy*, a great part whereof, by the name of the *Cisalpine Gaul*, was under his command, which is at present all *Lombardy* entire, comprehending *Piedmont*, *Milain*, the State of *Venice* in *Italy*; in short, all as far as the River *Rubicon*. *Pompey*, *Crassus*, and almost all the Magistracy of *Rome* went to visit him at *Lucca*, where he then resided. They went attended with

\* *Lictors*, to the number of Six and twenty; Twelve whereof carried the Axes before the Consuls, and the rest waited upon the other Magistrates according to their quality and rank. It was in this place that the Triumvirate took new measures for their more strict union, and the strengthening their Authority: They resolved that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should demand the Consulship for the following

\* These were  
a sort of  
Officers  
like our  
City Ser-  
jeants.



\*Cornelius  
Lentulus  
Marcellinus.

following year, and that *Cæsar* should hold his Government five years longer. So that this Union, which they disguised under the name of Friendship, was, in effect, no other thing, than each Man's private Ambition; and therefore we ought the less to wonder, if the same reasons that united them now, were now the causes of their division afterwards, when each of them began to think he was strong enough to set up for himself. Now this resolution of theirs alarm'd all those of the Senate who wished well to the Publick; and \**Marcellinus*, one of the new Consuls, talked very highly upon the occasion, demanding of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, in presence of the People, if they pretended to the Consulship, to which *Pompey* reply'd fiercely, that he would doe as he himself thought best; but *Crassus* answer'd in more modest terms, saying, That he should proceed according to what he judg'd most for the advantage of the Republick. This Dispute (as was usual on the like occasions) was improv'd almost to blows. And the Senate gave orders for a common habit of Mourning to be worn, as in cases of a Publick calamity, and the reason they gave for it was, that the Proceedings of the Triumvirate were dangerous to the Government Established, and contrary to Law. Indeed, as for *Pompey*, he found out a way to give sufficient marks of the Nature of his Ambition. He had been affronted, to the last degree, by *Clodius*, in the business of *Ptolemy* King of Egypt.

*Aegypt.* This Prince having been driven out of his Kingdom by the Rebellion of his Subjects, was come to *Rome* to demand assistance, and great Intrigues were set on foot for the Command of such an Expedition, for *Ptolemy* offer'd very large Capitulations; *Lentulus*, the then Consul, and *Pompey*, were those who pursued it most warmly, and seem'd to have the strongest Interest: But *Clodius*, who loved neither the one nor the other, oppos'd them both. So that when the People were assembled upon that occasion, he appear'd, follow'd by those sort of Men, whom *Cicero* call'd *Clodius's* Working-tools (it may be, because they had helped him to demolish his Palace) and there interrupted the discourse of *Pompey* with shoutings and clamours; and on the other side, when ever *Clodius* offer'd to speak, *Pompey's* party were as noise as their neighbours, and sung out lewd Lampoons against *Clodius* and his Sister. This *Clodius* took occasion to revenge, not unpleasantly; for, turning about to those who were of his side, he begun to ask of them, Who was the most effeminate Commander in *Rome*? they answer'd, *Pompey*. Who was the Ladies Captain? *Pompey*. Who starved the People? *Pompey*. And yet, Who had a mind to go into *Aegypt*? *Pompey*. And then, when he demanded of them, Who they would send? they answer'd, *Crassus*: who indeed, for all the friendship between him and *Pompey*, had privately managed his own Interest that way,

way having *Clodius* for him among the People, and *Cato* in the Senate. *Clodius* indeed took care to be well paid for his pains ; but *Cato* proceeded out of down-right honesty , and opposed *Pompey* for no other reason, than that a *Sybill* had Prophesied , That there should come a King of *Aegypt* to ask assistance of the *Romans* ; That they ought to receive him as a Friend, but not to send him back with any Troops. *Cato* had a high dispute with *Pompey* upon this subject ; and *Pompey*, after having hinted at *Crassus*, without naming him, declared , That there were those who designed against his life, but that he should take care to guard himself better than young *Scipio* had done, who was put to death by *Carbo*. In fine, *Pompey*, through all this business, managed himself but very indifferently, and was outrageous against *Clodius*. These things happened before the Interview at *Lucca*. But *Pompey* seeing he had need of the People, and *Clodius* having a design upon the Office of *Edilis*, their particular Interests brought them soon to a better understanding ; *Pompey* promised *Clodius* to assist him in his pretensions, and *Clodius*, in favour of *Pompey* , hinder'd the holding of the *Comitia*, for the Election of Magistrates ( for so the Assemblies of the People were called. ) The design was to reduce the State of *Rome* to that which we call an Interregnum, which is that, when the choice of Consuls failed, the most Illustrious of the Senators should take the charge of the Government

ment by turns, each whereof had the power of naming Consuls when it was his day; and as the manner was extraordinary, the usual course of the Law was herein often dispensed withall. The business succeeded according to their wishes; *Domitius*, onely assisted by *Cato* his Brother-in-law, presented himself to the People, in competition with the two Triumviri, but they having filled the place with those Souldiers which the young *Crassus*, *Cesar's* Lieutenant, had brought on purpose out of *Gaul*, a slave of *Domitius*, that carried a Flambeaux before him, was killed upon the spot, the Master himself hardly escaping, and *Cato* received a wound in his Arm: so *Pompey* and *Crassus* were chosen, but *Pompey* onely stood charged with the hatred which so unjust and violent a proceeding did really deserve.

*The year of  
Rome 699.*

following year, and that *Cæsar* should hold his Government five years longer. So that this Union, which they disguised under the name of Friendship, was, in effect, no other thing, than each Man's private Ambition; and therefore we ought the less to wonder, if the same reasons that united them now, were now the causes of their division afterwards, when each of them began to think he was strong enough to set up for himself. Now this resolution of theirs alarm'd all those of the Senate who wished well to the Publick; and \**Marcellinus*, one of the new Consuls, talked very highly upon the occasion, demanding of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, in presence of the People, if they pretended to the Consulship, to which *Pompey* reply'd fiercely, that he would doe as he himself thought best; but *Crassus* answer'd in more modest terms, saying, That he should proceed according to what he judg'd most for the advantage of the Republick. This Dispute (as was usual on the like occasions) was improved almost to blows. And the Senate gave orders for a common habit of Mourning to be worn, as in cases of a Publick calamity, and the reason they gave for it was, that the Proceedings of the Triumvirate were dangerous to the Government Established, and contrary to Law. Indeed, as for *Pompey*, he found out a way to give sufficient marks of the Nature of his Ambition. He had been affronted, to the last degree, by *Clodius*, in the business of *Ptolemy* King of Egypt.

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## CHAP. IX.

*Pompey and Crassus get themselves Invested in Governments. The Cause of Division between Caesar and Pompey.*

TO pass over the variety of matters which happen'd at *Rome*, during the five last years of *Caesar's* Government, and which have no relation to the subject in hand; besides, that the repetition would be tedious, and that it may be, in some measure, guessed at, by what we have said of the Intrigues about Elections, the struglings and hostilities before: It seemeth enough at present in gross, and without the order of time, to take notice, that *Pompey* acquitted himself in what he promised *Clodius*, even to the hazard of his life. Since in the Assembly for the Election of *Ediles*, he had a Man killed so near him, that his Mantle was cover'd with the blood. He revenged himself signally upon *Cato*, who, when he demanded the Pretorship, *Pompey* caused his pretensions to be thrown out; and named, in prejudice of him, one *Vatinus*, who was one of the worst and most obnoxious Men of that time. And in process of time too he brought it about, that *Ptolemy* was established in his Kingdom by *Gabinus*, with a powerfull Army, and all this merely by his own Authority, in spite of the *Sylls* Prophecy. *Gabinus* was afterwards called

led to an account for it when he came back to *Rome*, but by his Money and *Pompey's* favour, he escaped a Condemnation, which he could never have avoided, had his miscarriages been severely prosecuted. These things now may see plainly have no relation to the Civil War, otherwise than as they discover the Power and Ambition of *Pompey*, which will much more appear in what is to follow, and belongs to the subject in hand. Now *Crassus* and he seemed to affect a great deal of moderation, in regard of those Governments, which, according to Custome, were to be allotted them, upon the expiration of their Consulship; but yet, nevertheless, manag'd matters otherwise under-hand, by the Tribunes of the People, who were to propose for them *Syria* and *Spain*, with *Africk* or *Libya*, as it was then called. To each of these Governments Armies were to be added, with full power and authority to make Peace and War at discretion; which gave opportunity too to *Cesar's* Friends to mention his five years. The whole affair, being privately agreed upon between the Triumviri, passed against all objection; *Pompey* got *Libya* and *Spain*, and *Crassus*, *Syria*, with power to make War upon the *Parthians*; so that their Union did still support it self, in appearance, though it were really already ruined in the foundation, at least between *Pompey* and *Cesar*; nor need we seek for other reasons for it, than the Jealousie, which the Emulation, of those two great Men, raised of each other. *Pompey*  
had

had seen himself, for many years, at the head of the rank of *Romans*, and, to give him his due, it was not without Justice, for he had enlarged the *Roman* Empire farther than any other had done before him. He had Triumphed over three parts of the World; over *Africk*, by the defeat of *Domitius* in *Libya*; over *Europe*, by that of *Perpenna* in *Spain*, and over *Asia*, after having vanquished King *Mithridates*, one of the most formidable Enemies *Rome* ever had, and all this too without the least disgrace. From this high degree of Glory he lookt down upon all other *Romans* as his Inferiours. And therefore, as he knew the Merits of *Cesar*, and the advantages which accrued to him from his Illustrious Birth and Education. He could not, without much regret, see, that his great actions in the *Gallick* War began to put him in a condition of disputing, even with himself, for Glory gotten in Arms. On the other side, *Cesar* having received, both by Nature and Education, all those qualifications that go to the Composition of a Great Man, had too much fire, to hear with patience, any Man's Pride, that affected to appear above him, and therefore, whenever he had an occasion of shewing his abilities, he made so good use of it, that he quickly found himself in a condition to ease *Pompey* of that advantage, by which he thought he deserved so very much above all other *Romans*. And Fortune too was as indulgent to him now, as she had been to *Pompey* before; but she utterly abandoned

abandoned *Crassus*, who could never rise up to the least pretensions, for he was defeated, and lost his life in the *Parthian War*; and the death of that Triumvir, who, while he lived, was as a check upon the other two, left them now an open field for their Ambition and Emulation to work in.

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## CHAP. X.

*The death of Pompey's Wife Julia. The Magnificent Shews he gave the People. The death of Clodius.*

Pompey had now for some time done all that was in his power to diminish the reputation of *Cesar's* Conquests, obliging the Magistrates not to publish any Letters they received, till he had fore-stalled the credit of them, by spreading false and disadvantageous reports. This gave great cause of trouble to all those who foresaw the miseries that must attend a Rupture between two so extraordinary Men; and what augmented their fears more, was the death of *Julia Pompey's Wife*, which happen'd at the same time: *Pompey* loved her even with passion, which one would have thought might have been of consideration enough to have healed differences between the Father and the Son-in-law. For *Julia* had Wit as well as Virtue, and always a great ascendant over both their dispositions. The People of *Rome* gave sufficient testimony

E ny



ny of the respect they bore her, by publick demonstrations of their sorrow; and when *Pompey* would have carried her Body to one of his houses near *Alba*, the People opposed it, and bore it into the Field of *Mars*, where they paid it the last Rites of Funeral with all Magnificence: From this moment *Pompey* resolved to think of nothing but his own particular advancement; and, for the restoring of himself to the favour of the People, caused a stately Theatre to be builded, which he dedicated to them by Plays, and other magnificent Shews; which were not at all pleasing to *Cicero*, as appears from one of his *Epistles*: It was reported too afterwards at *Rome*, That that Theatre was not built at the expences of *Pompey*, but that *Demetrius*, one of his Freed-men had defray'd the charge of it, as a piece of gratitude and acknowledgment for the Immense fortune he had raised under his Master, so that *Pompey* himself reap'd little advantage from that undertaking. The spirits of the People too were sharpened against him, by the extreme violence which he used, in raising those Troops which were to follow *Crassus*, at the time when that General departed upon his unfortunate Expedition against the *Parthians*: For it was a thing disapproved of at *Rome*, and approved by one of the Tribunes, who, when he could not hinder it, uttered such horrible Curses and Imprecations against *Crassus*, as it was believed called down that misfortune upon his head, which cost the

*Romans*

*Romans*, a Hundred thousand Men, and *Craſſus* himſelf his own life, as well as his Son, whom *Cicero* takes occaſion to mention with an extraordinary Character. In the mean time *Pompey*, whoſe Government was now expired, took other meaſures, and pretended, upon the diſguſts he had received, to withdraw himſelf from any Adminiſtration in the Republick, ſo that the Government fell into horrible diſorders. And the pretenſions to publick Offices grew to ſuch exceſs, that it was apparent, upon the creation of *Ediles*, there were depoſited Eight hundred Talents for the packing of Suffrages, and the City of *Rome* was eight entire months without any Magiſtrates. The fury of thoſe Factions, under the names of *Clodius* and *Milo*, produced nothing but daily Murthers, till no body durſt walk the ſtreets but Armed; which gave occaſion to thoſe of *Pompey's* party to inſinuate, that his retirement was prejudicial, and a loſs to the Publick; and, at the ſame time propoſed, that he might be ſent for back, and made Dictatour: *Pompey* explained himſelf very modeſtly upon the matter; and when the buſineſs was mentioned to him, onely ſaid, that it was his opinion the Republick ſtood in need of the Authority of ſome wiſe and moderate Man. And ſuch an Authority appeared indeed the more neceſſary upon the death of *Clodius*, which happened too at the ſame time; which, as it is a matter has been variously reported, and which *Cicero* has endeavour'd to diſguiſe,

\* A little  
Town not  
far from  
Rome.

with all the arts of his Eloquence, we shall here give such an account of, as seems to come impartially nearest the truth. *Milo* pretended to the Consulship, and *Clodius* to be made Pretor, at the same time; and as they were two Men, whose Interests were Incompatible, they always sought, by the best means they could invent, or lay hold on, to ruine one another. *Milo* was to take a Journey to \* *Lavinium*, where he was Dictatour, and he departed from *Rome* in his Chariot, with his Wife and Family, but well guarded by a great number of his slaves. In his way, he was to pass by a Countrey-house that belonged to *Clodius*; near this house they both met *Clodius* on horseback and well attended. The Quarrel was begun on both sides by the slaves, who, having exchanged several blows with each other. *Milo* alighted out of his Chariot, and with his Sword in his hand defended himself vigorously; *Clodius* in the scuffle received a wound upon his head, which brought him to the ground. He was quickly taken up by his slaves, and carried into his house, whither *Milo* followed him: *Appian* says, it was to excuse himself to him, but that were ridiculous to believe, considering the violent hatred that had long been between them; it may be more reasonably conjectured, that it was to satisfy himself of the condition of his wounds, or to give him more if he thought them not enough: In conclusion, when he found him expiring, he went back to *Rome*, to prevent what might be aggravated

gravated to his prejudice. The People all entertained the news with unexpressible sorrow, for *Clodius* was extremely beloved by them. So that when his Brother *Appius* caused his Body to be brought to *Rome*, and

\* *Rufus* and † *Plancus*, the Tribunes, exposed it all bloody, as it was in the publick place, there arose an implacable Mutiny; They ran to *Milo's* house to set it on fire, but he repulsed and killed several of the Assailants; the rest returned back to the place, where they pulled to pieces all the Seats of the Magistrates, made a \* Funeral Pile of them, and set fire to it with so much fury, that all that stately building where the Senate used to assemble, was burned with the Body of *Clodius*; after this the Mutineers dispersed themselves all over the City, where, under pretence of searching for the Friends of *Milo*, they committed the most insupportable Violences.

*Milo* behaved himself in all this affair with his usual fierceness. He sent for a great number of his slaves out of the Countrey for the Guard of his Person, and had the boldness to offer himself to the People to be Judged. *Cacilius* the Tribune, by consent, was to be his Accuser, and he had well assured himself of his Judges. But the People, more transported than ever, fell upon the followers of *Milo*, who had much ado to save himself, with *Cacilius*, and Murthers were renew'd again all over the City.

\* *Vibullius*.

† *Munatius*.

\* *The Romans, since the time of Sylla, burned the Bodies of their Dead, instead of Burying them.*



## CHAP. XI.

*Pompey sole Consul. Cæsar secures himself of the favour of the Roman People.*

\* In the year of Rome 701, there were two Families which bore the Name of Domitius; one *Arminius* Enobarbus, and the other Calvinus. † Cornelli.

THESE things happened under the Consulship of \* *Domitius Calvinus*, and *Valerius Messala*. For *Pompey* perceiving the name of Dictatour to be very odious, had caused them two to be chosen, and fortifi'd himself with that Authority which the Senate had given him, to defend the Magistrates and their Judgments with Troops allotted him for that purpose; Nevertheless this appeased not the publick disorders. † *Scipio*, *Hypsenus* and *Milo*, pretended all at the same time to the Consulship, and carried on their respective Interests with a strong hand; so that there was every day to be seen three Armies upon the place: *Milo*, whose violent proceeding had accumulated to him the publick hatred, was, at last, accused by *Appius*; and although *Cicero* himself undertook to defend him, his fear of *Pompey's* Souldiers, who surrounded him as he was pleading, put him out of his Oration: And the Insolence of *Milo*, who came before the Judges with a face full of Threatnings and Menaces, caused him to be condemned; so he was Banish'd: and when *Cicero* afterwards sent him that Discourse of his, which we now have amongst us, and which passes for the choicest of his Works: his Answer was, *That it was happy for*



for him that Cicero was out in his harangue, for that he had not else fared so well at Marfeiles, for that was the place of his Exile. Now the Friends of Pompey took upon them afresh to solícite his pretensions; And those necessities which the State of the Common-wealth then lay under, appeared no small argument for him with the Senate; but the name of a Dictatour would not be heard of: So that Cato thought fit to propose an expedient, which was, That the power of a Dictatour might be conferred upon him, but under some gentler Title; so Pompey was declared sole Consul: New Troops were allotted him, and a Thousand Talents yearly for the maintenance of them; the Government of Spain was continued to him for four years longer, and he sent Deputies thither to Rule in his stead. He strengthened himself too with the Illustrious Alliance of the House of Scipio, by Marrying Cornelia, a Lady of no less Accomplishments than Beauty; she understood, even to excellent performance, all manner of Musick; nor was a stranger to Learning and Philosophy, being Mistress of Geometry, and the other parts of the Mathematicks; and all this too without the least Impertinence, or Womanish affectation. So that Pompey thought he had nothing now more to be afraid of, and that it would be henceforth an easie work to overthrow the Fortunes of Caesar; who, on his side, was by no means negligent of what so nearly concerned him. Some Tribunes of the People had proposed, the causing of him

to be elected Consul with *Pompey*; but he desired them, by Letters, to reserve their good Inclinations of that kind for a design he had to demand a second Consulship, when the employ he was at present in should be expired. In the mean time, to gain the good will of the People, he caused a new Market to be set up at *Rome*, the place whereof cost him a Hundred thousand Sesterces: He gave also to the *Romans* certain Plays, and a Publick Feast, in acknowledgment of the Honours they had done to his Daughter *Julia*. He desired the Knights, and such of the Senators as were his Friends, that they themselves would Exercise and Instruct the Gladiatours, and sent them Rules and Directions accordingly. Giving order at the same time, that those Gladiatours, who pleased not the People in their Combats, should be turned out, and others, more agreeable, put in their places: The Grandeur of his Mein, his extraordinary Generosity, and the greatness of his Actions, had entirely engaged to him the affections of his Souldiers, who all loved him, even to adoration; he caused their Pay to be doubled, and the Corn which used to be distributed among the Troops, by regulated proportions, was now given to them without stint or measure. Again, on the other side, a great many of the Senators stood obliged to him for considerable Sums of Money, which he had lent them without any Interest; he entertained, with Magnificence, all such as served under him, even to those slaves

slaves whom he loved : and his Army was a perfect refuge to all manner of Criminals ; and such as were burthened with Debts, a great many whereof he discharged at his own proper expence ; but to those who stood engaged for mighty sums indeed, he used to say , That one Civil War would make all even. In a word, all stranger Princes , and the best Cities tasted of his Munificence by considerable Presents. And all this done at the expence of the *Gauls*. So that it was not improperly observed by one , who said, That *Cesar* conquer'd the *Gauls* with the *Roman* Steel, and the *Romans* with the *Gallick* Gold. *Pompey's* Friends, to be sure, were not now backward to make their reflexions upon the occasion of these Liberalities, and to exaggerate the danger that might thence threaten the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, *Cesar* resolved once more to try , if it were possible , to preserve the Friendship of *Pompey*, and before his last Marriage offered him his Neice *Octavia*, and demanded *Pompey's* Daughter for himself, but *Pompey* thought fitting to make choice of an Alliance with *Scipio*, whom he caused afterwards to be joined with him in the Consular dignity for the last five Months ; and as he very well knew that *Cesar* was beloved by the People , his business was to establish his Interest among the Senatours. These two Factions have been always opposite , under the Title of the Nobility and the Populace ; And their division had produced very terrible effects,

\* *Cajus.*  
† *Corneli-*  
*us.*

\* *Nero.*  
† *Lucan.*

fects, especially in the Sedition of the Gracchi, and afterwards in the Wars between \* *Marius* and † *Sylla*: The People usually prevail- ed by their Numbers, but the Senate by their Authority; and it is, without doubt, that Union of *Pompey* with the Senate, which has caused *Caesar's* Party to be so much de- cry'd; and the advantages of *Pompey*, in all Writings, to be celebrated with so much Passion; that, under the Reign of one of the most terrible of *Caesar's* \* *Successours*, there lived an † *Authour*, who durst publish a Work, which we have now amongst us, wherein he has most barbarously violated the memory of that Great Man,

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CHAP. XII.

## CHAP. XII.

*Pompey's Laws. Curio goes over to Cæsar's Interest.*

THE first appearance of Division began from *Pompey*, by the two Laws which he published during his Consulship, the first whereof was for an enquiry into the miscarriages of Officers in the executing their Charges, for the twenty years last past, that is, from his first Consulship, down to that which he then held. Hereupon *Cæsar's* Friends remonstrated that a Law of that kind might be injurious to several illustrious Men; and more particularly to *Cæsar*, who had within that time been Consul. At that name he cryed out that it was shamefull for them to imagine that such an Ordinance could in any manner have regard to a man of *Cæsar's* Merits and Vertue, and that his Friends did him the greatest injury to suspect it, so that no alteration of that Law could be admitted, and many persons were condemned upon it, amongst the rest, *Hypseus*, *Memmius*, *Sextus*, and *Gabinus* himself: yet afterwards when *Memmius* in his turn accused *Scipio*, *Pompey's* Brother-in-Law, *Pompey* was not ashamed himself openly to appear against that very Law of his own making to bring off *Scipio* by his Authority. The other Law of *Pompey*, or rather an Article of the Precedent was, That no man  
being



being absent, should be admitted to demand any Employment, these Laws being approved of, were forthwith engraved upon Copper Tables, and carried to the publick Treasury, after which formality, no change or alteration in them was to be admitted; *Pompey* was for an exception in favour of *Cesar*, but in regard that it was contrary to Form. *Marcus Marcellus*, who had succeeded *Pompey* in his Consulship, no way respecting any such exception, after giving notice that he had matters to communicate of the highest importance, proposed, that since the Conquest of *Gaul* was now completed, some body might be sent to succeed *Cesar*, and at the same time that he might be excluded from demanding the Consulship; This Declaration allarum'd all *Cesar's* Friends; *Servius Sulpitius* the other Consul, declared himself of the contrary Opinion, and the Tribunes *Caius Calpurnius*, and *Vibius Pansa* opposed the Decree. *Pompey* too was at a loss how to distinguish handsomely upon this Subject. He said indeed it was great Injury to *Cesar* to propose a thing of that Nature, at least before the Kalends of *March*, since till that time came his Government of *Gaul* was not expired, upon which, when it was asked of him what was to be done, if they met with opposition, it signifies nothing says he, whether or no *Cesar* obey the Decrees of the Senate, since he will find those that shall oppose him; but it was answered again, if he will be Consul, if he will

will keep his Army? To which *Pompey* reply'd, If my Son should provoke and rebell against me, what would you advise me to? This discourse sufficiently discovered how *Pompey* stood affected as to *Cesar's* Interest: For all this, matters were managed with all Artfull and fair Conduct and Intrigue, till the Election of the new Consuls, who were *Emilius Paulus*, and *Calidius Marcellus*, a Kinsman of *Marcus*. This affair at that time wholly employed the Senate, and stop't the course of any other business. Every one expected with impatience how the two Consuls would declare themselves; the first had been pretty well secured by a Present from *Cesar* of fifteen Talents, with which he built himself a sumptuous Palace, and called it after his own Name, but *Callidius* was *Cesar's* Enemy, and being carried on by the same Spirit with his Kinsman *Marcus*, followed also his Methods, and renewed the old Propositions. We have already taken frequent occasion to mention the privileges of the Tribunes of the People, who were ten, *Curio* and *Marcus Anthonius* were of the number for this year. *Curio* was in great esteem both for his Quality and his Abilities, being one of the ablest men which *Rome* could at that time boast of for Eloquence and Pleadings at the Bar, he had great Parts and equal resolution, but stood charged with abundance of Debts, both in his own Name, and for many of his Friends, among the rest for *Anthony*, for whom he  
had

had entered into Securities. He had been one of the most violent against *Caesar's* Interest: But *Caesar*, who knew well enough where his shoe wrung him, quickly found the way to give him ease, and bring him over by furnishing him with means to quit himself of those encumbrances. *Curio* afterwards made use of a management that was very refined, forbearing to declare himself of *Caesar's* Party, that he might the better enter into the Counsels and Designs of his Enemies, and after that, he sought an opportunity to break with *Pompey*. For this Design he demanded that the charge of overseeing the reparation of the High-ways, might be conferred upon him, which he at the same time knew well enough would be deny'd, so that upon the refusal of it, he made known his resentment, and afterwards when the Consul made his report to the Senate touching the Governments, he praised his Zeal and his Opinion, adding, that it was but Justice that *Pompey* and *Caesar* should be called from their Governments both together.

## CHAP. XIII.

Curio declareth himself against Pompey. Cæsar returns the Legion that Pompey had lent him.

THE Spirits of this Age were two refined not to apprehend at first sight the meaning of this Proposition. All that were Pompey's Friends began to grow very uneasie to Curio. Appius one of the Censors, and who had been raised to his Authority by Pompey, threatned to expell him the Senate, and propos'd it in one of the Assemblies. Curio submitted to every thing that might be Decreed particularly against himself, but would abate nothing where Cæsar's Interest seem'd to be struck at, and the Consul Paulus withstood the Affront that was like to have been offer'd him. Curio imparted upon this his Proposition to the People, who received it so well, and with such Joy, that they covered him with flowers, and in that manner accompanied him home to his House: He himself afterwards in an Assembly of the People, when they order'd that Cæsar, though absent, should have power to demand the Consulship. This oblig'd Pompey to leave Rome, under pretence of going to his Government, but he went no farther than to one of his Countrey houses, where falling sick, he wrote to the Senate that he was ready to give up all his

all his Employments when *Cesar* would ever consent to part with his, and that he would confirm this upon his return to *Rome*. *Curio* took him at his word, and told him it was his duty to begin what he proposed, and that he would engage on *Cesar's* part, that the Example should be followed. The business was then put into debate, but came to no conclusion, onely it was ordained that two Legions should be drawn out of the Troops of *Cesar* and *Pompey*, to go into *Syria* against the *Parthians*, this was onely done to weaken *Cesar's* Army, for *Pompey* at the beginning of the War had lent him a Legion of his. *Appius* was sent into *Gaul* to draw out this Legion, and to oblige *Cesar* to give another of his own, who though he easily discerned the reason of this order, by no means in the least opposed it, but surrendred both the Legions to *Appius*, and at the same time ordered two hundred and fifty Drachma's to be given to every Souldier. *Cicero* at this time came back to *Rome* from his Government of *Cilicia*, where he pretended for his great Exploits to have merited the Honour of Triumph. His absence had hindered him from taking either Party in these differences, and his present Pretensions obliged him to be a Mediatour between both, so he made some Propositions for an Accommodation, but they would not be hearkned to, for that *Appius* was returned, and had published abroad, that *Cesar* stood very ill in the Opinion of his Army, that he knew  
little



little or nothing of their Inclinations, and that they would certainly come over to the Senates Party, whenever they recovered this side of the *Alpes*. This relation gave *Pompey* great confidence, so that he rejected all Projects of the least Accommodation; *Cicero* could not be heard, and when he afterwards asked him what Powers he had wherewith to oppose *Cesar*, *Pompey's* answer was, that he need onely to stamp with his foot, and that the Earth would bring him forth an Army. Many of the Senatours began already to talk very meanly of *Cesar*, and *Cato* himself haughtily declared that he would bring him to an account of his Actions, and that he should be treated as *Milo* had been used before him.

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## CHAP. XIV.

*Cæsar sends a letter to the Senate ; They declare War against him. Anthony and Curio the Tribunes of the People go to find out Cæsar.*

**C**Æsar had written several times to the Senate to beg them, that they would have some regard to the services he had done the Republick : He proposed alternately that he might either be continued in his Government as *Pompey* had been, or that he might be permitted in his absence to demand the Dignity of Consul, and when this Proposition was rejected, he requested again that *Curio's* expedient might be admitted of ; but in these his last Letters he proposed the surrendring up the Government of *Illyria*, with two Legions, which *Cicero* urged afterwards in Argument for a Peace ; but as we observed before, his endeavours, became altogether unprofitable, and *Cæsar* upon the news he received of the ill success of his pretensions, repassed the *Alpes* with the third Legion, and marched to *Ravenna*, from thence he sent *Fabius*, one of his Lieutenants, with Letters to the Consuls, who were *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Clodius Marcellus*, newly chosen : *Lentulus* refused to reade his Letters, but *Anthony*, and *Quintus, Cassius, Longinus*, the Tribunes, obliged them to be read before the Senate ; they contained a Catalogue of *Cæsar's* Services, and an assurance

rance that he would send back his Troops when ever *Pompey* should disarm. *Lentulus* would by no means admit of any deliberation upon these Letters, onely told the Senate, that upon condition they themselves would be vigorous upon this occasion, he was ready to serve the Republick with the utmost hazard of his life, but if they suffered themselves to be remiss and negligent, he knew very well there was another would take party with *Caesar*. *Scipio* declared at the same time that *Pompey* was ready to Sacrifice himself for the interests of the Senate, if they would stand by him, but if they once appeared to be slow or irresolute in their deliberations, it would after that be vain to expect any assistance from him. And though *Pompey* were at this time not in *Rome*, in regard those who had Military Commands, were not admitted to stay in the Town. *Caesar* said, That considering *Scipio* was his Brother-in-Law, and altogether in his interests; This advice seemed to come out of *Pompey's* own mouth. Some other of the Senatours made a more favourable Construction, among the rest, *Marcus Marcellus*, *Sulpitius Rufus*, and *Calidius* himself, who was of Opinion that *Pompey* ought to go to his Government, for the taking away all pretence from *Caesar*, to believe that those two Legions retained at *Rome*, were designed to prejudice him. *Lentulus* refused to make a report of this Opinion, and exclaimed against *Calidius* and the rest. In fine,

a Decree was formed upon the advice of *Scipio* in these Terms; That *Cesar* should dismiss his Troops within a certain time; and that if he refused Obedience, he should be declared an Enemy to the Commonwealth. *Anthony* and *Cassius* opposed this Decree, by that means raising fresh debates, which were managed with a great deal of sharpness, so that the Assembly did not separate untill it was very late. The night was employed in *Pompey's* private management amongst his Friends, and *Curio's* among the other Tribunes. The next day *Piso* the Censor, and *Roscins* the Pretor, demanded five days time to go to find out *Cesar*, and give him an account of the state of these matters, which was refused them. *Lentulus* commanding the Tribunes to depart the Senate, so that a Decree was published, which never was usual, but in cases of the utmost extremity, that the Consuls and other Magistrates should take care that the Republick came to no damage; in pursuance whereof, *Marcellus* the other Consul took a Sword, which he carry'd publickly to *Pompey*, who was then out of Town, accosting him in these Terms, I command you in the name of the Senate, that you assist the Republick with the Troops now under your command, and speedily levy more. From this moment there was a Successour ordered to *Cesar*, which was *Domitius*, designed Consul for the year following. All his Governments were disposed of, whereof *Scipio* had  
*Syria*,

*Syria*, and every body took arms in *Rome*, and appeared in a habit of War. *Cesar* failed not of a speedy account of this from *Curio*, *Anthony* and *Longinus*, who retreated to him disguised in the habits of their Slaves, in which condition he shewed them to his Army, and took that occasion which the indiscretion of his Enemies presented him withal, to make appear the Injustice and Violence of their Proceedings: *Te see*, said he, *these Sacred Persons* forced to conceal themselves in the habit of Slavery, to shun the fury of my Enemies, and all for maintaining those Privileges which the Laws allowed them, and which *Sylla* himself, who spared nothing else, never durst Violate: But now *Pompey*, who boasts himself to have re-established these Privileges, has deprived these Men of them, and so much the more unjustly, and ungratefully, since it was for their supporting of my Interest, who have always been true to his, though he does not this of his own inclination, but it may be easily seen is driven to it by malice of my Enemies. Adding moreover, That their violence appeared sufficiently by that Decree which was never heard of, but when the Commonwealth was in open danger from the fury of the Tribunes, or the Seditions of the multitude, which did not any ways appear at this time. In fine, tearing his Robe, and falling even into tears, he conjured all his Souldiers that they would defend his Honour and his Reputation, after having served nine years under



der his Command with so much glory and success. The Souldiers with loud cries answered him, That they were ready to revenge the Injuries done to their General, and to the Tribunes.

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## CHAP. XV.

*The passage of the Rubicon, and the taking of Rimini.*

**A**Mongst the many Warlike Qualities of *Cesar*, his diligence to prevent an Enemy, and pursue a Victory, was the most admirable; he had often surpris'd others, but was never known to have been surpris'd himself. He never carried a Victory, but he made himself Master of the Enemies Camp, he knew well how necessary, and of what importance such a diligence at this time was. And what impressions first Exploits make towards the Reputation of any Party. And to add moreover a secret upon this occasion, he sent some Centurions, and chosen Men armed with Swords, onely to put themselves as secretly as possible into *Rimini*, which was the chief Town on that side of his Government. For himself, he spent the days in seeing publick Plays, and the Combat of the Gladiatours at *Ravenna*, and when night came, sate himself at Table amongst

amongst his Friends, but soon rose up again, and desiring his Friends to make themselves welcome, told them, he would return in a moment, but that was the least of his Designs, for he had ordered some Mules to be taken out of a Neighbouring Mill, and put into his Chariot, in which Equipage he set forwards towards *Rimini*, with some few of his particular Friends whom he had made privy to his Intention, and one Troop of Souldiers; it was a troublesome Journey, but they resolv'd to undergoe it, so that sometimes on foot, and sometimes in his Chariot, *Caesar* arrived upon the Banks of *Rubicon*, which is a little River separating the *Cisalpine Gaul*, from the rest of *Italy*. In this place all the misfortunes of that War which he was going to undertake, presented themselves to his mind. Sometimes he had thoughts of going back again, and turning himself to *Asinius Pollio*; We have now, says he, in our Power to return, but if we pass the River, our onely retreat must be to our Arms. Some Authours, and amongst the rest, *Suetonius* himself gives an account of a Miracle which happened to him upon this Occasion, perhaps they have done it onely more particularly to signalize that famous passage of the *Rubicon*, by something extraordinary, but however it might be, it will not be here improper to recount it. Not far from the place where he stood, there appeared all of a sudden a man of an extraordinary stature, who made very good Musick

with a certain Flute or Reed which he plaid upon ; The Novelty of the sight drew together a great many of the Souldiers, and among the rest a Trumpet that belonged to *Cesar*, so soon as they came near to the man, he snatched away the Trumpet, and sounding a Charge, threw himself into the water, and went over to the other side ; no mention is made what became of him, only that *Cesar* without farther consideration passed the River, crying out aloud, *Let us go where the Gods so remarkably call, and where the fury of our Enemies drives us, the Lot is cast.* From thence, without making the least stay, he marched directly up to *Rimini*, and possessed himself of it without any resistance, so with six thousand men only he began that famous War. And after having secured himself of that place of Importance, sent orders to his Troops to follow with all diligence.

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## CHAP. XVI.

*The amazement of the Senators: They leave Rome, and retire to Capua.*

THIS sudden and unexpected enterprize gave most terrible apprehensions to the City of *Rome*. They believed already that *Cæsar* was at their Gates with all his Army, and it was an odd confusion to see the Countrey People come for safeguard into the City, and at the same time the Citizens flying into the Countrey, no body knew which side to take; and *Cicero* himself began to believe that *Pompey* had not made the least preparations, that he was not in any condition to make head against *Cæsar*, and that he had neither Troops, nor place of retreat. For *Cicero* found himself under as difficult circumstances as any body, and his uneasiness appeared in all the Epistles which he wrote upon this Occasion, *If I should stay*, (says he, in one of them,) *I know not here whom I ought to be most ashamed to accompany, Lepidus, Volcatius or Sulpitius, neither of these but is as silly as Domitius, and as inconstant as Appius, but Pompey engages me by the obligations which I owe him, and not by his Authority; for what Authority can a man deserve, who could honour Cæsar in the highest degree, after we were all afraid of him, and who believes now, when he begins to fear him, that all the world*

world ought to declare against him? Thus in few words *Cicero* gave a description of *Pompey* and his Party, in the mean while making his interest with *Cesar*, by the means of *Dolabella* and *Calpurnius*, and other of his Friends, to which purpose *Calpurnius* in one of his letters to him (wherein he shews himself a man of very pleasant observation) advises him this for a Maxime, *That in the Divisions of a Government, while the matter is disputed by words onely, every man ought to espouse that Party which he thinks is the justest; but when once it comes to Arms, to join evermore with the strongest, and to believe that he who has the best Sword, has the best Cause.* *Pompey* underwent no small regret and discontentment during this Perplexity: His whole Party reproached him that he had deceived them, demanding of him where his Troops were, and *Favonius*, who was grown crack-brained with Philosophical Projects, and pretending to imitate *Cato*, told him, That it was now high time for him to stamp upon the Earth with his foot, and bring forth the Souldiers which he had promised them. At the last *Pompey* was forced to tell them that they should not want Souldiers, if they would but follow him and quit *Rome*, or indeed *Italy*, which they were not able to defend, that it was neither their Houses nor their Provinces that could inspire them with the love of Vertue and of Liberty. But that Men of Honour would find it in all Retreats, and that



that to unite themselves, was the way to put them into a condition of returning back again to their Houses with Glory. This discourse, and the affection which they bore to *Pompey*, made them resolve at last to quit the City, for though they blamed his Conduct, they knew not how to hate him, so the Consuls, and almost all the Senate followed him to *Capua*, where were the two Legions which *Cesar* had sent from *Gaul*. The behaviour of *Labiennus* contributed at this time much to their assurance. This Man was one of *Cesar's* Lieutenants, had served in *Gaul* with a great deal of Reputation, and was therefore well esteemed by *Cesar*, but afterwards, when his Services, and the Riches he had gotten in them, began to make him vain, *Cesar* thought fit to let him see he would be his General, and not yet his Companion; this caused *Labiennus* to change his Party, and his deserting made indeed a great shew, but produced very little advantage. No brave Man thought the better of him for it, and from that time he performed nothing that was considerable, and though the Example might have been of dangerous Consequence in the beginning of a War of that Nature, yet *Cesar* either through his Wisdom, or the greatness of his Mind, seemed little to value or take notice of it, for he sent *Labiennus* all his Money after him, and all his Equipage. From this time *Pompey* apply'd himself to take care of his business, and put his affairs in some order,

\*Pollentia. der, and resolved to retire into \* *Pouille*. He left *Lucius Domitius* in *Corfinium*, and *Cicero* to command in *Capua*, who received the Commission with some reluctance, but as he had left him neither Men nor Money, he apprehended that that employment would not much injure his good Correspondence with *Caesar*.

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## C H A P. XVII.

*Some Propositions of Peace between Cæsar and Pompey, but without any success.*

**C**Æsar was still at *Rimini*, where *Lucius*, *Caesar* his Kinsman, and whose Father served at that time in his Army, came with *Roscius* to find him out. After some discourses about other Affairs, *Lucius* told *Caesar* that *Pompey* had Commanded him to wait upon him, and to beg of him that he would doe him Justice, in regard of what had passed between them, that he should think himself very unhappy, if it were possible for *Caesar* to think himself injured by him, in what he had done onely in consideration of the Commonwealth; that it had always been his Maxime to prefer the Publick Good before his own particular Interests, and that it would equally redound to *Caesar's* Glory also to sacrifice his resentments to the repose of his Countrey, and not to drive things so far

far as by endeavouring to revenge himself upon his Enemies to give a wound to the Commonwealth. *Roscins* too entertained him with discourse much to this purpose: but these Civilities which were indeed but merely such, and from the Teeth outward, were of no great weight with *Cesar*, nevertheless he resolved upon the dismissing of these Gentlemen, to give them some taste of his sentiments, so he told them, That since they came in that manner Commissionated from *Pompey*, it was his desire that they would charge themselves back again with some Propositions on his part, especially if they desired to appease the present Troubles, and quiet the fears of *Italy*. That he had evermore less considered his life than the honour and welfare of the Commonwealth, but that he could not without extreme grief of mind see that his Enemies would take from him those favours which the People of *Rome* thought fit to have allowed him, that they would cut off six months from the time of his Government, to force him to *Rome* in spite of the will of the People, who had ordained, That although he were absent, he should be considered as if he were actually present in the Assemblies for the Election of Consuls, that he had nevertheless been content to put up that injury for the sake of the publick Peace. That he had desired by his Letters that all the Generals might quit their Armies at once, but by no means possible could obtain it.

But

But that on the contrary Troops were levied throughout all *Italy*. That they had retained the two Legions which were taken from him, under a false pretence of going against the *Parthians*, and the whole City was up in Arms, and therefore to what purpose was all this designed, except for his ruine? that for all this he was disposed to reduce himself to the last extremities, and suffer every thing for the sake of the Republick; That *Pompey* should retire to his Government, that the Senatours should discharge their Troops, and that every one should lay down his Arms throughout all *Italy*, that *Rome* should be no more held in Awe, but the Assemblies be left to their Ancient Liberty. In short, that the full Authority of the Senate, and the People of *Rome* should be restored. To this discourse *Cesar* added, that matters might be determined better by an enterview between him and *Pompey*, whereby they might agree upon a method of putting this in Practice, and take mutual Oaths of assurance from each other. *Roscins* and *Lucius* returned back to *Capua* with these Propositions, and made report of them to the Consuls, and to *Pompey*. They deliberated upon the matter, and wrote back their answer in these Terms, That *Cesar* should return into *Gaul*, that he should abandon *Rimini*, after which, *Pompey* should depart for *Spain*, that in the mean while they would continue their Levies till *Cesar* gave them assurances that this should be performed with all sincerity. CHAP.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*The progress of Cæsar. He seizes upon the  
March of Ancona. The siege of Corfinium.*

IT was not a desire of Peace which carried on this Correspondence, matters were too far engaged, and the Enmity too openly declared to leave any room for a sincere Accommodation. *Pompey's* business was but to gain time, and had great reliance upon the assistance of the Forces of the East, which were absolutely in his interest. *Cæsar* too depending upon the valour and affections of his Souldiers had no design of quitting his Arms, but onely to make it appear as fairly as he could, that he had taken them up with Justice. His Propositions being but as so many Manifesto's or Remonstrances, for as a Politician of those times observed, they might easily have come to an agreement, but that was none of their business, for they both aimed at the Government. *Cæsar* found he had no reason to obey the Senate, who would have obliged him to retire, and leave a good Garrison, and disband his Troops, so long as *Pompey* continued in Arms, and making new Levies. without any certain day fixt for his departure into *Spain*; wherefore without loosing more time, he resolved upon action, and to that purpose sent *Anthony* to \* *Arezzo* with \* *Arerium*. five Cohorts to make new Levies. In the  
mean



mean time he seized upon *Pisaura*, and *Fano*, and *Ancona*, and upon advice received, that *Thermus* the Pretor was at *Fermo* with five Cohorts belonging to *Pompey*, he sent *Curio* thither with three of his, upon whose arrival the Inhabitants revolted, and obliged *Thermus* to depart, whose Troops deserted him. In fine, all the \* March of *Ancona* submitted voluntarily to *Cesar*: This Progress of his redoubled the fears at *Rome*, whither *Lentulus* was come back to seize upon the publick Treasures, but upon the report that *Cesar* was coming, left the Treasury open, and with *Marcellus* and several others, betook himself to flight. In the mean time the twelfth Legion came to join

\* *Picenum*. *Cesar*, who marched to † *Ascoli*, which *Lentulus* had possessed himself of with ten Cohorts, he staid not there for *Cesar*'s coming, but retreated in confusion, a great part of his Souldiers deserting him also, the rest joined with *Vibullius Rufus*, who was at that time too raising new recruits, whereof he composed ten Cohorts, and went to *Corfinium* to find out *Domitius Aenobarbus*, of whom *Cicero* makes mention, and who was designed to have succeeded *Cesar*. This man was of an illustrious Family, though but of the order of the People, but the Merits of his Ancestours had raised them to the dignity of *Patricians*, he was of a fantastical inconstant spirit, with a fiery and barbarous humour much like that of *Nero* after him, whose great great Grandfather he was,

was. He had with him twenty Cohorts of new raised Troops in *Corfinium*, besides, the twelve that belonged to *Rufus*, with these Forces he resolved to expect *Cæsar*. Now as that place was the first that durst undertake to make head against *Cæsar*, every body expected with impatience what would be the success of the enterprize. *Cæsar* made his approaches with two Legions, and was engaged by five Cohorts, who defended a Bridge about three miles from the City. They were driven back even to the Gates of *Corfinium*, which thereupon was immediately invested. *Domitius* prepared himself for a vigorous defence, and wrote word to *Pompey*, That there was now a fair opportunity to hem in *Cæsar*, if he would but come up, that it would not be for his Reputation to abandon thirty Cohorts, besides a great many Senatours and Knights of *Rome*; *Pompey's* answer was, That he was not then in a condition to set the Forces of the Commonwealth, upon the hazard of a Battel that *Domitius* had engaged himself in *Corfinium*, absolutely contrary to his Opinion, and that he ought to think of making as fair and speedy a retreat as was possible, and come to join himself with the Consuls and the rest of the Senate. It was upon this refusal that *Cicero* became so transported against *Pompey*, in one of his Epistles to *Atticus*. *I should have believed (said he) that Pompey would have had more regard to his Reputation; He himself has nourished and made*

G Cæsar

Cæsar great, and now all of a sudden is grown afraid of him. He will hearken to no Propositions of Peace, and yet is in no preparation for War. He has lost the March of Ancona by his own  
\*Pollentia. fault, has put himself into \*Povilla, and would go into Greece without thinking fitting to make us in the least acquainted with his Designs. In short, Domitius presses him for relief, and represents to him how much his Glory is concerned in it, but Pompey renounces his Glory, and retires to Brundisium.

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## CHAP. XIX.

*The taking of Corfinium. Cæsar gives Domitius and the other Senators their liberty; He writes to Cicero.*

**D**omitius thought it his wisest way to conceal this answer which he received from Pompey, and said, that the General was upon his march to relieve them, in the mean time contriving with the trustiest of his Friends how to make a private retreat. The secret could not be so nicely managed, but that his very face and all his Actions discovered it, so that the Souldiers fell to Mutiny, and proposed surrendring to Cæsar, who had now recruited his Army with the ninth Legion, and two and twenty Cohorts raised in Gaul, besides three hundred German Horse which a certain Petty King towards the side of Bavaria had sent him. Cæsar pressed the place with those Troops he had put under the command of Curio, so that no means of retreat being left, the Souldiers secured Domitius, and sent Deputies to Cæsar to certifie him, That they were ready to open the Gates to him and surrender. This happened at the beginning of the night, so that Cæsar would not make his entry at that time, fearing lest in the dark his Souldiers might be tempted to commit disorders, and pillage the City; Wherefore he onely caused his Guards to be doubled;

and kept his Army at their Arms all night. At break of day *Lentulus* called from the Rampart to one of *Caesar's* advanced Sentinels, and demanded of him if he might have security to come and see *Caesar*. *Caesar* had notice of it, and sent him his Parole; *Lentulus* presently came forth conducted by *Domitius* his Souldiers to the presence of *Caesar*. He began his discourse with praying *Caesar* to forgive him, in respect of their ancient Friendship, and afterwards enlarged himself upon the favours *Caesar* had done him; That he was indebted to him for all the Honours he enjoyed in the dignity of *Pontifex*, in the Government of *Spain*, in the Consulship. Here *Caesar* interrupted him, saying, That he was not come from *Gaul* to offend any body but onely to defend himself against the outrages of his Enemies, to restore the Honour of the Tribunes who had been ignominiously banished, and to recover his own Liberty with that of the People of *Rome*, whom a Cabal of ill designing men had now enslaved.

*Lentulus* taking heart at this discourse, desired of him the liberty to return into the Town, saying, That the favour which *Caesar* had shewn him would be a great motive towards the assuring of the others, many whereof had taken desperate resolutions against their own lives, meaning by this *Domitius*, who by a certain return of tenderness which Nature has for life, was now seeking for remedy against some Poison which



which he imagined he had taken, though he had no great need of it, for his Physician, had onely given him a Vomit, which had its usual operation. *Cesar* ordered all the Senators, and the other Noble Romans that were there, to come forth of the Town, as *Domitius*, *Lentulus*, *Spinther*, *Vibullius*, *Rufus*, *Quintillius Varus*, and *Lucius Rubrius*, together with the Sons of *Domitius*, besides a great many young Gentlemen and Roman Knights. He forbid his Souldiers offering of them the least affront even in speech, and after having told them in a few words, that he never had till now great reason to value himself upon their acknowledgment of any obligations that they owed him, he gave them all their liberty to go where they pleased; and to shew that he as little valued the Money, as the lives of his Enemies, he restored to *Domitius* six thousand Sesterces, which he had deposited in the Bank of *Corfinium*, though he could not be ignorant that it was the publick stock. As this action was diversly interpreted, *Cesar* thought himself obliged to give some account of his reasons for it in a letter which he wrote to *Cicero* upon some praises he had given him for the business of *Corfinium*. The letter was in these Terms.

*Cesar* the Emperour to *Cicero* the Emperour.

**I** Am now assured that you know me, since you appear to be satisfied that nothing is so far from my nature as Cruelty ; I have sought nothing in this proceeding but my own particular satisfaction, but at present I am proud to find that it deserves your Approbation, and I am no longer troubled to see that those whom I have spared, should be returned with my Enemies to fight again against me, since I wish no greater advantage than to let them know that they will be always like themselves, and I too will as little alter.

The name of Emperour was at this time no other than a Title of Honour which the Souldiers gave their Generals, after some great Victory, *Cesar* (the world knew) had well deserved it ; *Cicero* had gotten it by some little exploits of his done in his Government of *Cilicia*, and it was onely to flatter him, that *Cesar* gave it him in this Letter, wherein he mentions *Domitius*, *Rufus* and *Varus*, for that they made so ungratefull use of the liberty he had given them ; for *Domitius* went to *Marseilles* to seduce that City from *Cesar's* Interest, *Rufus* into *Spain*, and *Varus* into *Africk* upon the same design.

## CHAP. XX.

*New Propositions for Peace. Caesar besieges Pompey in Brundisium. Pompey retires by Sea.*

**D**omitius his Souldiers went all over to *Caesar's* side, but as he could put no great confidence in them, he sent them into *Sicily*, and began to march with his whole Army, which consisted of four Veteran, and two new raised Legions. All the Towns opened him their Gates, and their Governours fled, being several of them deserted by their Souldiers who came over to *Caesar*. *Pompey* himself did not think fit to stay for him, but retreated to *Brundisium*, where the Consuls immediately embarked to go to \* *Durazzo* with thirty Cohorts. *Pompey* remaining in the Town with twenty others; *Caesar* soon after arrived, but e'er he began to make any Attack, resolved once more to endeavour an Accommodation: He had taken one *Magius* an Engineer, belonging to *Pompey*, and set him at liberty, with orders to tell his General, That it might be for the common interest of them both, as well as the good of the Republick, that they two might have a Meeting, and that they might more fairly and easily hand to hand come to an agreement, than by the means of any third Person: *Magius* brought him no answer back again, which obliged *Caesar* un-

\* *Dyrachium.*

certain of the designs of *Pompey*, to endeavour the blocking up the entry of the Port of *Brundisium*. To this purpose he caused a Bank or dam to be raised on each side of the Port where it was narrowest, and they could find ground, and where no bottom could be reached, he caused two Vessels to be fastened together thirty foot square every way, and made them to advance over against the entry of the Haven; they were moored with four Anchors, one at every Corner, and to these were joined two other Vessels of the same bulk, with design to form a sort of stacade or chain; the first bridge of these Vessels was covered with Earth and green Turf, to the end that those who were to defend them might have firm footing to fight upon, and the two sides were furnished with Hurdles in the nature of Parapets, and one of these Vessels carried from square to square, a Tower containing two stories for defending of the work from Attacks, and from fire. It was easie to judge for what design all this pains was undertaken. *Pompey* endeavoured to break it, and to that purpose made use of several Merchant Ships of burthen that were in the Haven. He caused there to be raised Towers of three stories high, which he furnished with Engines and all sorts of Darts; with these he run against *Cesar's* Vessels, hoping thereby to separate them, and hinder the continuation of the work, which occasioned dayly some little skirmishes with Darts and Arrows. All this

this time *Caesar's* design was to seek for a Peace, and having received no news of *Magnus*, caused *Caninius* one of his Lieutenants to demand an interview with *Scribonius Libo* his Friend, and an Officer under *Pompey*. His orders were to exhort *Libo* to Peace, and that the surest way to accomplish it would be an interview between *Pompey* and *Caesar*, that *Caesar* was assured matters might by that means be ordered with equal satisfaction to both Parties, and that the glory would redound to *Libo*, if by his care and mediation they should come to the laying down of Arms; *Caninius* proceeded according to his Commission, *Libo* made a report of it to *Pompey*, and returning back to his Friend, told him, That the Consuls being absent no Propositions of that kind could be received. From this time *Caesar* lost all hopes of an Accommodation, and set his thoughts wholly upon the War, half his business being already done to his hands, by reason the Vessels which transported the Consuls, and their Troops, were returned from *Durazzo*, which opportunity *Pompey* thought fit to make use of for withdrawing himself, and to secure his retreat he immediately caused all the Gates of the City to be walled up, and several Houses to be demolished in the Piazza's, and cross streets. The Avenues of the Port were cut off by certain Pits which were filled with stakes, and covered over with Hurdles and Earth, besides, two which were onely defended with Beams,  
and



and Joyfts made very sharp at the ends, and planted after the manner of Fraize: After these Precautions, he caused his Souldiers to embark with all silence imaginable, leaving onely some Archers and Slingers upon the Walls, who had a signal given them to retreat, so soon as his Souldiers should be gotten on Board, for he caused some Challops, or small Boats to attend them in a convenient place for their Embarkment also. The Inhabitants of *Brundisium* dissatisfi'd with *Pompey's* Souldiers, and provoked by the ruine of their Houses, advised *Cesar* of their retreat, who immediately put his Troops into order, and gave command for the planting of Ladders at the same moment of time that *Pompey* should give the signal to his Archers, who yet easily secured their retreat by certain private paths that they were well acquainted with. So that *Pompey* got all his Troops on Board, and at the beginning of the night weighed Anchor; *Cesar's* Souldiers got over the Walls, and had certainly fallen into the Pits which were prepared for them, had not the People of the Town given them warning, so that they were forced to take a large Circuit to come to the Port; which nevertheless was not so great a hindrance to them; but that they had time enough with Barks, and some other small Vessels to seize upon two of *Pompey's* Ships, who had run themselves a ground in going out of the Haven, while the rest made all the Sail they could, and saved themselves.

*Cesar*

*Caesar* seeing himself in sixty days Master of all *Italy*, was now extremely desirous to attack his Enemies e'er yet the supplies they expected from *Asia* could come to join them. But wanting Shipping, he resolved to go to *Rome*, to settle there some sort of Government, and then pass into *Spain*, to drive thence those Troops of *Pompey*, who had taken possession of it under the Command of *Affranus* and *Petreius*. He sent orders to all his Officers Commanding upon that side, to get together some Shipping, and send them to *Brundisium*. He gave *Valerius* one Legion to go into *Sardignia*, and three to *Curio* for *Sicily*, with orders to go forward into *Africk* so soon as they had brought that Island to Submission, *Cato* Commanded there for the Senate, and *Aurelius Cotta* in *Sardignia*. They neither of them staid to attend the coming up of *Caesar's* Troops. And *Cato* after having publickly complained of *Pompey's* Conduct totally abandoned *Sicily*.

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## CHAP. XXI.

*Cæsar goes to Rome, by the way sees Cicero. He seizes upon the money of the publick Treasury, and goes into Spain. The siege of Mar-seilles.*

**N**OW *Cæsar* having put his Troops into good Quarters, began his Journey towards *Rome*, after having written to all those of the Senate, who had not already declared themselves to meet him there, and assist him with their Councils : But above all, he desired to see *Cicero*, and pressed him to come by *Oppius* and *Cælius*, who were Friends to them both, and near his Person. *Cæsar*, the more to engage him to it, took an opportunity to see him in his Journey. The Conversation that passed between two so extraordinary men as they were, and moved each by different Considerations, must needs have something in it very remarkable. *Cæsar* complain'd to *Cicero* of his refusal to go to *Rome*, and told him; *That by that repugnancy he would make it believed that he blamed his Conduct, which might give ill impressions, and be of bad Example to the other Senatours.* To which *Cicero* replied, *That the reasons he proceeded upon were very different from those of the others.* But *Cæsar* still pressed him, saying, *That he desired his presence at Rome for no other end than the proposing of some Accommodation ;* Might I (replied *Cicero*) here speak my Opinion ?

*I have*

*I have nothing to prescribe you, upon that occasion ; Then (says Caesar) I will tell you : You will tell me (answered Cicero) that the Spanish expedition does not please the Senate, that the Army ought not to go into Greece ; In short, I have much ado to forbear discovering the Compassion I have for the present state of Pompey's Fortune ; Oh (replies Caesar) I cannot understand why things of this nature should be said to me, whose duty it is to distrust my self. And that is one reason too (says Cicero) why I would not go to Rome, for it is my duty also to speak my mind, or else I ought not to appear in the Senate. Caesar left him to give him time for reflexion, but Cicero could not resolve with himself to go to Rome. But Caesar arriving there, composed a body of such Senators as he found there, and called them the Senate, and when they were Assembled, made them a speech in justification of his Conduct. The reasons he alledged may be easily imagined, the most weighty of them having been already taken notice of. He proposed to the Senate the sending of Ambassadors to Pompey, without bogling at the point of Honour, which Pompey had laid down for a Maxime, which was, That in paying that respect to any one, they attributed to him a Supreme Authority, and that it was a mark of fear on their part who did it. But there was no body to be found who would undertake this Commission, because Pompey by the advice of Domitius, had declared all such Senators Enemies as should remain Neutrals. Caesar therefore would  
not*

not insist upon this Proposition of an Embassy, but began to think of providing himself with Money, his recourse was to the publick Treasury which he would have had opened. But *Metellus* one of the Tribunes of the People opposed him upon it, alledging, *That the Laws forbid it, that that money was sacred, and that heretofore most horrible imprecations had been denounced upon those who should ever touch it for any other occasions than the Gallick War.* Caesar told him, *He had removed the reasons of those maledictions by bringing Gaul under subjection to the Romans.* And when the Tribune insisted still upon the Laws; Caesar being something moved, told him, *That Arms and Laws seldom agree very well together.* Therefore adds he, *If you do not like my proceeding, you may please to withdraw, the War will not admit of this liberty of Contradiction, but when Peace has once obliged us to lay down our Arms, you may take your time to enlarge your self upon the power and virtue of the Laws; I relinquish much of my right in vouchsafing to tell you this; for you ought to know that you are now in my power, with all those who have provoked the people against me.* After this Discourse he went to the Doors of the Treasury, the Keys whereof not being to be found; Caesar sent for People to break open the Locks, and when *Metellus* had still the boldness to dispute it with him, in a rage laid his hand upon his Sword, and threatned to kill him, saying, *Know young man, that it is harder for me to say this than to doe it.* These words and  
behaviour



behaviour of *Cæsar* so terrifi'd *Metellus*, that he retired. *Cæsar* took out of the Treasury 3000 pound weight of gold. And the example of *Metellus* was the reason, that during the rest of the War, never any thing was refused him. After this he departed from *Rome* upon his Spanish expedition; having first sent orders to all his Troops to come and join him; he received news in *Provence* that *Pompey* had sent *Rufus* into *Spain*, and that by *Pompey's* intriguing with their Ambassadors when they were at *Rome* in the beginning of the War, the People of *Marseilles* had resolved to refuse him entrance into their City, that *Domitius* was gone thither with seven Gallies filled with the Slaves, Libertines and Peasants that belonged to his Lands, and that the *Marseillians* had called down to their Succour all the Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Mountains. *Cæsar* sent for fifteen of the chief Men of the City, to desire of them, *That they would not begin a War with him, but rather follow the example of all Italy and submit.* They returned back to the City to advise upon the matter, from whence they sent him this answer: *That having understood that the People of Rome were divided, and that Pompey and Cæsar were the heads of the two Parties, they had resolved to take neither part where two men were concerned, to whom they had equal obligations.* In the mean time *Domitius* arriving, was received into the City, so declaring him General, they put their Navy to Sea; *Cæsar* incensed at their  
pro-

proceeding, besieged the Town with three Legions, and ordered twelve Ships of War to be built at *Arles*; which were completed in thirty days, *Decimus Brutus* was appointed to command them; and *Caius Trebonius* his Lieutenant General was left to continue the Siege.

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### CHAP. XXII.

*Pompey gathers together great Forces. Fabius enters Spain with the Troops belonging to Cæsar.*

**T**HOUGH *Pompey's* design had at the first been ill interpreted. He had too much courage, and was too great a Captain to have proceeded in that manner without being obliged by very powerfull reasons. He knew well the valour of *Cæsar's* Souldiers, inured by ten years service against Warlike Nations, and by the merit of their General. Besides, he was willing to preserve his Reputation, and not put himself to the hazard of being beaten without hopes of recovery, with Troops but newly raised and unexperienced. Besides, he could not assure himself of the fidelity of those two Legions which *Cæsar* had surrendered him, and who for several years had served under a Man who understood all the arts of making himself beloved. It was this which caused him to go  
into

into *Greece*, there of such Succours as he could draw out of *Asia*, which was wholly in his Interest to form a body that might be fit to make head against *Cesar*. In effect in a short time he found that he had a very considerable Army. He applyed himself therefore to exercise his Souldiers, with an able Fleet to make himself Master at Sea, and to furnish himself with Darts, Engines, and all such Equipage as was necessary for him. He reckoned much too upon his Army that was in *Spain*, composed all of very good Legions; hoping that if *Cesar* lost not his Reputation, he might at least lose there the best of his Souldiers, which must indeed have succeeded as *Pompey* imagined, had he himself been at the head of that Army, or had he sent any of his best Officers to command it. But *Cesar*, who knew the condition it was in, said with his usual confidence that he went to find an Army without a General; but that he should come back and find a General without an Army. *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and *Varro* commanded in *Spain* for *Pompey*, and understanding by *Vibullius Rufus*, that *Cesar* was upon his march to attack them; upon this advice they resolved that *Petreius* should join with *Afranius*, and that *Varro* with his Troops should guard the inner part of the Countrey. They making choice of *Lerida* for the Post where they would attend the coming of *Cesar*. *Afranius* had three Legions, and *Petreius* two others, with four and twenty Cohorts of

the Natives of the Countrey, and five thousand Horse. *Caesar* had caused the passages of the *Pyreneans* to be possessed by three Legions, Commanded by *Fabius*, who after having put to flight some of *Afranius* his Troops that guarded those Defiles, was advanced into *Catalonia*, *Caesar* followed him with three other Legions, three thousand Horse which had accompanied him all his Conquests, and as many *Gallick* Cavalry, composed all of the noblest and bravest Men of that Nation, besides the *Gascons* and the *Basques*. There ran at this time a report, that *Pompey* would come by *Mauritania* to put himself at the head of his Army, which caused *Caesar* to use extreme diligence, and to assure himself of his Troops by an extraordinary way of proceeding. For he borrow'd certain sums of Money of all his Officers, which he distributed amongst his Souldiers, by that means engaging his Officers by their own proper interests, and his Souldiers by his liberality.

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## CHAP. XXIII.

*Cæsar joins his Army, and marches against Petreius and Afranius.*

\* **L** *Erida* is a City of *Catalonia*, within \* *Ilerda* twenty miles of the *Ebre*, situated upon an advanced ground between the Rivers *Segre* and *Cinga*. *Fabius* had advanced himself between these two Rivers, and had caused two Bridges to be laid over the *Segre* four thousand paces distance from each other, for the convenience of Forrage. The Enemies Generals had done the same thing for the same reason. So that the Cavalry of both Parties were every day engaged. There happened at the same time a fierce fight between two of *Fabius's* Legions, and *Afranius* with four of his. The two Legions were commanded by *Plancus*, and had certainly been put to the rout, had not *Fabius* come up to their relief with all his Troops; *Cæsar* in the mean while marched to joyn him with eight hundred Horse, and in two days made that Road which reaches from the *Pyreneans* down to the *Segre*. After that he had understood the disposition of the places, and of the Countrey, and that the rest of his Troops were arrived, he gave orders for the repairing of one of those Bridges which the River had broken down, and left six Cohorts with all his Baggage to guard the Bridge, and his Camp. Marching embattelled in



three Lines, till he came within view of the Enemy. *Africanus* appeared with his Troops in Battalia, upon an eminence where he was encamped, and where *Cæsar* could not attack him, which oblig'd him to post himself four hundred paces onely from the foot of the Mountain. The Romans never used to encamp without retrenching themselves within a Ditch, and a Palisade, which the Legionary Souldiers could throw up in an instant, every one of them besides his Arms carrying a stake upon his Shoulders for the making of the Palisade. This was their first work; and this they supported with Earth and Turf for the forming of a Rampart. *Cæsar* that he might not be disturbed in intrenching, left his two foremost lines to remain in Battalia, while the third wrought under the shelter of the two others, and threw up a Ditch of fifteen foot breadth, so that face of the Camp which looked towards the Enemy, was fortifi'd e'er *Africanus* could perceive it. Then *Cæsar* caused his Troops to retreat by the two ends of the Trench. His whole Army were all that night at their Arms, and the next day he drew up three Legions in Battalia behind the Ditch. As it was a hard matter to get Turf, he contented himself to cause a Trench to be thrown up upon the other sides of his Camp, by the three Legions who were not at their Arms. The work was completed in a few days, though *Africanus* and *Petreius* made some attempts to hinder it, but unsuccessfully, so that

that being in so good a condition as it was, *Caesar* caused all his Equipage to come up, with the Cohorts that were at the guard of the Bridge.

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## CHAP. XXIV.

*The Battel of Lerida.*

**B**etween the Eminence where the Enemy was Encamped; and the Town of *Lerida*, there was a Plain of about three hundred paces, and in the middle of that Plain a small advanced ground, *Caesar* endeavoured to get possession of this Post, and fortifie himself there, by that means to take away from the Enemy the conveniency of their Bridge, and their communication with the City, from whence they furnished themselves with all their subsistence. He caused three of his Legions to advance, which he posted in three different places, giving orders to the first Battalion of that Legion which was nearest to the advanced ground to run all together, and possess themselves of it. But the Cohorts of *Afranius* his advanced Guard, who had less way to go, got thither first, and repulsed *Caesar's* Men. They were seconded with other Troops, so that the Battel grew hot in that place. The manner of fighting on both sides was very different.

*Afranius* his Souldiers accustomed to Wars against the Barbarians, who never keep their ground, charged fiercely at the first, and advanced with a great deal of Courage, but they took no care of their ranks, but opened themselves in fighting, and when ever they were pressed hard, thought it no dishonour, to give ground, and abandon their Posts, and this *Caesar* says happened in regard that Souldiers easily learn the Discipline of those places where they have longest served. *Caesar's* Men on the contrary thought it was for their Honour to fight Embodied, and to keep their ranks, and never to quit their Colours nor their Posts.

In the mean time the manner of the Enemies fighting surprised them by its Novelty, they believed that they should be hemm'd in, and the whole Battalion moved with a great deal of disorder, and the astonishment had certainly reached the rest of the Troops, who were not accustomed to see themselves push't by their Enemies, had not *Caesar* assured them by his presence. He caused a Legion to go on entire, and it was the ninth, which put a stop to the Attempts of the Enemy, and charged them so hotly, that they retreated under the walls of *Lerida*. But that Legion enraged with the affront they had received, engaged themselves too inconsiderately in so dangerous a place, upon the steep part of the rising ground, upon which the City was built. *Afranius* his Souldiers returned to the charge, and as they had gotten

ten the advantage of the place, and *Caesar* also had recruited his Men, the Battel lasted five hours upon that spot with great disadvantage to *Caesar's* Party, who were forced to fight up hill, and where every Dart from the Enemy did execution, which last obliged them to run up with their Swords in their hands, and with so much vigour, that they pushed the Enemies Party which were in the Trenches, and the others also in the same place. By this time *Caesar's* Horse were with difficulty advanced to favour their retreat which they made without any disorder. Both Parties attributed to themselves the Honour of the Victory. *Caesar*, because his Troops had maintained the fight for five hours in so disadvantageous a Post, and that they had with their Swords in their hands, put the Enemy to flight. And *Afranius* for that his being less in number, had had at first the advantage, and that he still remained Master of the Post for which they fought, and which he caused to be fortified.

## CHAP. XXV.

*Cæsar's Army reduced to great extremities by the overflowing of two Rivers. Cicero and a great many other Senators go to find out Pompey.*

**A**N Accident which happened two days after this Battel, gave him still greater hopes. The Rains which fell in abundance, and melted the Snow upon the Mountains, so swelled up the two Rivers, that the Rapidity of the Waters carried away both *Cæsar's* Bridges, so that he saw himself shut up between two over-flown Rivers, and could receive neither Convoys of Provisions, nor those powerfull succours which he expected out of *Gaul* and *Italy*: This was at the beginning of Summer, when the Corn was not yet ripe enough for the making of Bread. Besides *Afranins* his *Spaniards* being well acquainted with the Countrey, and accustomed to pass the Rivers in Goat-skins, which they always carried with them to the Wars, continually met and fell upon *Cæsar's* Men, when ever any of them were stragling or out from the rest. *Afranins*, on the other side, had great store of Corn, and other Provisions, which he still supply'd himself withall out of that part of the Countrey which lay behind his Camp, and which had not yet been ravaged. *Cæsar* attempted to repair his Bridges, but the largeness and violence of the Rivers



Rivers rendered all his endeavours fruitless; besides, that the Enemy disturbed the Work with flights of Darts from the other side of the *Segre*: by this time the succours from *Gaul* were arrived, consisting of Archers and Cavalry, composed of the best and chosen youth of *Gaul*, all Sons of Senatours, or Knights, whom *Caesar* had honoured with those dignities. According to the custome of that Nation, they brought with them great Equipages, abundance of Chariots and Slaves, but all in no order, and without command. They arrived, in this condition, upon the Bank of the *Segre*, which they could not pass; And *Afranius* being advised of the difficulties they were in, passed over with three Legions, and all his Cavalry, to surprize them. The fight of the Enemy made the *Gauls* to rally, and form themselves into a Body, which stood and received the Enemies Horse with a great deal of Bravery; but seeing the Colours of the Legions appearing, they retreated towards the Mountains, without any more loss than 200 Archers, a few Horsemen, and some Servants that were with their Equipages. In the mean time the want of Provisions grew to a great height in *Caesar's* Camp, and his Souldiers were very much discouraged, as well with the fears of future miseries, as with the sense of the present. A Bushel of Corn was sold for Fifty pence, and Fortune seemed absolutely to declare her self for *Afranius*, whose Troops enjoyed all manner of plenty. Both  
he

he and *Petreius* gave an account, by Letters, to *Rome*, of the advantage they had gotten; And those of *Pompey's* Party went in shoales to pay visits to *Afranius* his Wife, and congratulate with her upon the news: A great many Senatours, who had till then stood neuters, went to find out *Pompey*, some in hopes to make their Court to him, by carrying him the first account of so good Tidings; others to get what shares they could in the fruit of a Victory, which they already assured themselves of, by the ruine of *Cesar*. *Cicero* was one of these last in spite of the wholesome advice of *Atticus*, the endeavours of his best Friends, who were then with *Cesar*, and *Cesar's* own Letters to him, wherein he conjures him, for the sake of their Friendship, to remain Neuter. *It will not be believed* (says he in one of them) *that the Justice of my Enemies Cause has prevailed with you to declare against me, but that you have been distated at some action of mine which would most sensibly grieve me. A Man of Honour who loves his Countrey, and its Peace, ought to avoid the taking of any side in the disorders of a Civil War. The mere consideration of danger hath hindered many men from following those opinions, though they might have perhaps approved of them. For you, who know by my conduct the extent of my Soul and my Friendship, you cannot doe better nor more for your Honour than to avoid the engaging your self, by any means, in these Broils. But these reasons were not of such prevalency with Cicero, as the News he received from Spain. Therefore he went*

to find *Pompey*, who was very glad to see him, but gave him no Employment, being not very well satisfied with him, for that he had observed in him some regret to be engaged so unseasonably, and which he could not forbear giving instances of by his Raileries; For when *Pompey* reproached him, that he came in a little late; *How late?* (answered he) *I do not find your affairs in such forwardness.* And another time, when it was told him, that seven *Eagles* had been taken in *Pompey's* Camp, and that it was a happy Omen. *It would be very lucky indeed* (said he) *if we were going to make War upon the Magpies:* so that *Pompey* could not refrain telling of him, *That he should get him gone into Cæsar's Camp, where he would have less reason to jest, and more to be Afraid.* At last, *Cato* having remonstrated to him, *That he ought to have preserved the Neutrality which he at first made profession of, and that the Inconstancy of his proceeding was unworthy of a Man, as he was well acquainted with the Maximes of True Philosophy.* *Cicero* took the first opportunity of retiring, and never came up to the Battel of *Pharsalia*.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Cæsar passes the Segre, and pursues Afranius and Petreius.*

THE Joy of *Pompey's* Party was not very long-liv'd, but quickly changed with the Fortune of *Cæsar*; who, after having vainly endeavoured to repair his Bridges, gave orders amongst his Souldiers for the Building some of those sort of Vessels, the use whereof they had learned in the *British* Expedition. The Keel and bottom of these Boats was of Light Wood, and the rest with Ozier, covered over with Leather: he caused them to be transported in the night upon Chariots, 22 miles from his Camp, and so passed over his Souldiers to the other side of the River, who possessed themselves of an advanced ground, where they retrenched before the Enemy could get any notice of their design. These Troops were followed by one Legion, and in two days a Bridge was built in that place. The Succours and Provisions which came from *Gaul* passed easily over, and their Souldiers were refreshed. *Cæsar* then caused his Horse to go over, who surpris'd the Forragers, a great number whereof they slew, routing their Guard which consisted of *Spaniards*, and carried away a considerable booty. At this time the face of Affairs seem'd utterly changed. The valour of *Cæsar's* Horse had so amazed the Enemy,

Enemy, that they never after durst venture out to fetch in Forrage, and the Towns of *Hensia, Callahora, Taragona, Tacca* and *Vich* coming over intirely to his party, sent him Provisions. *Illurgavia* another City near *Ebre* followed their example, and one Cohort of that City, which was in the Enemies service, revolted to *Cesar's* Camp. He then caused an Intrenchment to be thrown up thirty foot in depth, by that means to make the *Segre* fordable, and spare his Horse the pains of fetching a long circuit to find the Bridge. *Pompey's* Generals began now, in their turn, to be afraid of the want of provisions, because that *Cesar* was much too strong for them in Cavalry. So they resolve to go into *Portugal*, where the People held the Name of *Pompey* in great Veneration. For this design they furnished themselves with what Boats they could get in and about the River *Ebre*, and carried them to *Octogesa*. This was a place about Twenty Mile from their Camp, then they commanded a Bridge to be made of these Boats, and passed the *Segre* with two Legions. *Cesar's* Work and *Afraninus's* Bridge came to be finished much about the same time, with extreme diligence on both sides, and unspeakable labour on *Cesar's* part. In fine, *Pompey's* two Generals left two Cohorts in Garrison at *Lerida*, and went with all their Troops to join the two Legions which were passed over. At the third Watch all that Army decamped to gain the *Ebre*; after which, *Cesar* found-  
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ing the depth of the Ford, and finding it in good condition, commanded all his Cavalry to pass over and fall upon the Enemy; At break of day, from the Eminency of *Caesar's* Camp, he could discover that his Horse had joined the Enemy, that they extremely pressed their Rere-guard, and had put them into disorder, which was easily to be guessed from the confusion of their motion. The Souldiers ran about the Camp, crying, that the Enemy would escape, and yet protract the War longer than there was necessity for it; They desired their Officers to assure *Caesar*, that they would refuse no Fatigue to come to a Battel, and that they could easily foard over where the Horse had gone before them: This eagerness of theirs was the reason that he left the weakest of his Men, with one Legion, to guard his Camp. And after having disposed a great many Horse both above and below the Ford, he caused his other Legions to pass over without their Baggage; some of the Souldiers were carried away by the swiftness of the Stream, but were saved by the horsemen. So that all the Army got over without the loss of one Man. Assoon as they came on the other side of the Ford they drew up in Battalia, and Marched so fast, that though they were forced to go six Miles about, and had lost a great deal of time in passing the River, they joined the Enemy before three a Clock in the Afternoon, who had come away at midnight.

night. *Afranius* and *Petreibus* drew up their Troops upon the hill, *Caſar* kept his on the Plain, being unwilling, (weary as they were) to expoſe them to a Battel. But in the moment that the two Generals moved towards a retreat, he followed them without reſting, and forced them to Encamp much ſooner than they had at firſt reſolved.

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## CHAP. XXVII.

*Different motions of the two Armies. Caſar beſieges the Enemies two Generals.*

FROM the place where they were Encamped, there was a Plain of five Miles, reaching to the Mountains and Defiles which they had a mind to poſſeſs themſelves of, to put a ſtop to *Caſar's* Cavalry, and go without danger as far as the *Ebre*. *Caſar* underſtood this deſign, and that they intended ſilently to quit their Camp, ſo he immediately ordered a cry in his Camp of *Load the Baggage*, which was an uſual Cry amongſt the Roman Souldiers. This noiſe kept the Enemy in their Trenches, fearing leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed in diſorder upon their march, but at break of day *Petreibus* went to take an account of the Defiles with a ſmall party of Horſe. *Decidius Saxa* had received the ſame orders from *Caſar*, they both brought back  
word

word to their Camp, that he who first got possession of those Defiles might cut off from the Enemy the passage to the *Ebre*.

*Afranius* and *Petreius* called a Council of War, whether they should depart that night, or stay till morning; those that were of the opinion to stay till morning, carried it, by reason of the hazard they must run, should they be engaged to a Battel in the dark, where the Souldiers (especially in a Civil War as this was) would not be retained by the example of their Officers, nor any sense of their own shame. At break of day *Cæsar* left his Trenches, and marched with all his Troops towards the Hills, taking a great Circuit without keeping any certain Road. The Vallies were very difficult of passage, being full of sharp Rocks, and rough ways. But the Souldiers persuaded that the price of the Victory, and the end of all their Toils depended upon their diligence, to ease themselves, gave their Arms to those who were first got over, and so supported one another in the passage: Immediately *Afranius's* men having left their Trenches, and observing the motion of *Cæsar's* Army, which was not toward the way which led to the Mountains, by reason of their going about, believed, that prest for want of Forrage, he was upon his retreat, upon which they set up great hootings, and their Commanders were very glad that they had stayed for the day, without running any hazard in the night. But when they perceived by their

their facing to the right, that the first of the Troops were already got on the other side of their Camp, they thought it high time for them to depart and prevent the Enemy, so they cryed to Arms, and marched, after having left some Cohorts to guard the Camp and the Baggage. It was their business to try who could first get possession of the Mountains. The difficulty of the ways was a great hindrance to *Cesar's* Troops; but his Cavalry as much incommoded those of *Afranius*. So they already saw themselves necessitated to lose their Baggage to save themselves, for *Cesar's* Horse had got between them and their Camp. The matter of importance was, who should make themselves Masters of the Defiles. *Cesar* by the diligence of his Men carried it, where after having passed the Rocks, which were almost inaccessible, found the Plain where he might draw up his Legions in Battalia. The two Generals seeing the Infantry before them, and the Horse behind them, made a halt upon a hill, from whence they detached four Cohorts of Spaniards, who were designed to get possession of a Mountain which seemed to be the highest, and by that means to open themselves a way to the *Ebre*. But they were hemmed in by *Cesar's* Horse, who cut them all to pieces in sight of both Armies. His Souldiers pressed him that he would take that occasion to complete the defeat of his Enemies, whose fear appeared by the disorder

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der their Colours were in, but he would not doe it, for he saw the Victory assured without fighting, and was resolved to spare the blood of his Souldiers, so he caused his Cavalry to retreat, and gave the Enemy liberty to return to their Camp, which they had quitted in the morning. *Cesar* leaving some Troops at the Defiles, and having blockt up the passage to the *Ebre*, came the next day and posted himself in sight of their Trenches. They had but two things to chuse, either to return to *Lerida*, or go to *Tarracona*. As they were consulting upon this, news was brought them that *Cesar's* Cavalry had fallen upon theirs, which were gone to get water, which obliged them to send more Legionary Cohorts, seconded with Cavalry to maintain a work they designed to make, by throwing up a Trench as far as the *Segre*. The two Generals divided themselves for this Design, and as they were busying themselves about it, their Souldiers left their Trenches, and came to a Parley with *Cesar's*, they almost all of them knew one another, being of the same City, and most of them either Friends or Relations. They gave them thanks that the day before they had not fallen upon them in that disorder they were then in, they bemoaned themselves that they should be forc't to carry Arms against Men who for so many reasons ought to be dear to them. In short, they demanded surety for their Generals, promising in that case to surrender themselves to  
*Cesar*,



*Caesar*, to whom also they deputed their Principal Centurions for a Treaty. In the mean while inviting *Caesar's* Souldiers into their Camp, and carrying them into their Tents, where they offered them such refreshments as they had. *Afranius's* Son himself entered upon Capitulation by the means of *Sulpitius* a Lieutenant General, and there was some appearance that the two Armies being united, matters might have been brought to a kind conclusion.

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## CHAP. XXVIII.

*Petreius causes several of Cæsar's Souldiers to be slain. He decampeth, and Cæsar follows him, but without a design of defeating him utterly.*

**U**Pon the news of this, *Afranius* returned to the Camp, and retired himself to his Tent, resolved against all events. *Petreius* did not so, he caused several of his Slaves and his Guards to take their Arms, and with some Spanish Horse ran to the Trenches, driving thence *Cæsar's* Men, and causing his own Souldiers to retire. Those of *Cæsar* rallied, seeing that he ordered those Spaniards to charge them, and after having lost some Men, retreated to their Camp. *Petreius* being entered into his, went from Quarter to Quarter, and assembling his Troops together, conjured them with tears in his Eyes to remember *Pompey* their General, to whom they had so mighty obligations, and demanded from them a new Oath of Fidelity, he took it first himself, afterwards obliging *Afranius* to it, and all the other Officers, and in fine, all the Souldiers one after another. Then it was ordered that all those that had any of *Cæsar's* Souldiers in their Tents should bring them forth, some were produced and Massacred in the presence of the whole Army. They believed that the obligations of that Oath, and that example

ple of Cruelty, would be so strong an engagement, that the Souldiers would never after break it; nevertheless, a great many preserved those that were in their Tents, without discovering of them, and at night helpt them to escape over the Ramparts. *Cesar* would not imitate this Cruelty of the Enemies Generals, but sent back all their Souldiers which were in his Camp, at least all those that would return, (for a great many Officers had taken Party with him.) The Enemy pressed by all manner of necessity, resolved now to retreat to *Lerida*, where they had yet some Provisions, and the next morning they Decamped. The order of their March was thus, the best of their Cohorts they placed in their Rere Guard, to make head in the Plain against *Cesar's* Army, which followed them afterwards as they were passing the Mountain, they more easily defended themselves, because that those who first got up, could with their Darts defend them that followed; but upon the descent on the other side they found great disadvantage, for they could not assist one another, and *Cesar's* Cavalry might annoy them with Darts. As they went down to avoid this, the Legions in a whole body making a haul, charged so fiercely upon the Cavalry, that they forced them to retire, and after having so repulsed them, ran with what speed they could into the Valley to get to the other side, where they might face about, but by reason of what had hapned, they were not

perſued very faſt, and after having marched four miles, *Africanus* and *Petreius* encamped upon an advanced ground, where they made a ſort of retrenchment. *Caſar* poſted himſelf very near them, and after they had obſerved that his Horſe were gone out to Forrage, they began about Noon to march again. *Caſar* immediately followed them with his Infantry, and ſent order to his Horſe to come up to him at four of the Clock, they quickly returned, and the Enemy being preſſed by his whole Army, were forced to take another Poſt very diſadvantageous, and far from any water. *Caſar* would not for the reaſons I have already related, intirely defeat them, though he might eaſily have done it, but left them at liberty to retrench themſelves, which they did with all poſſible diligence, and carrying on their Trenches from one Poſt to another, endeavoured to advance under the ſhelter of their Works. But this onely ſerved to hinder them more from water, which for one whole day they wanted. The next day all their Army marched in Battalia to ſeek for ſome, but no one durſt leave the body to go and fetch in Forrage. This gave *Caſar* to underſtand the neceſſity to which they were reduced, and confirmed him in his deſign, ſo he ordered the beginning of his Line for the blocking of them up. Three days were ſo employed in removing earth on every ſide, during which time they cauſed all the Beaſts of burthen in their Camp to be killed. In the mean while *Caſar's*

*far's* work was very much advanced, and at three a clock in the afternoon, the two Generals drew out to oppose it, embattelling themselves upon three lines. *Cesar* for the sake of his Reputation would not seem to decline the Fight; so he drew up his Troops in Battalia upon three Lines also. The Cohorts of the Legions upon the right and left, the Archers and Slingers in the Centre, and his Horse upon the Wings. In this order he attended their motion, resolving himself not to begin the attack. The two Armies were upon their Retrenchments, which were onely carried on for two hundred paces, and so they remained till night without doing any thing. *Cesar* then caused his Works to be renewed, and the two Generals had a design to open themselves a passage to the *Segre*, to try there if they could find a Ford; but this hope of theirs was frustrated by the light armed German Foot, and a Party of Horse which *Cesar* had sent on the other side of the River to defend the passages by *Corps du Guard*, which he caused every where to be Posted.



## CHAP. XXIX.

*Afranius and Petreius pressed for want of provision, surrender themselves to Cæsar with all their Army.*

AT last having for four days suffered all the inconveniences imaginable, as want of Corn, Forrage, Water, and every thing else that was necessary, *Afranius* and *Petreius* demanded a private Treaty, which *Cæsar* refused them, and obliged them to speak what they had to offer in presence of both the Armies; *Afranius* his Son was given for Hostage, and *Afranius* himself spoke for his Party, he excused them, for that they had to the last extremity maintained that fidelity which they owed to *Pompey* their General, and said, *That they believed they had given sufficient marks of their Zeal which if he thought a Crime, they were already sufficiently punished for it by the misery which he had brought upon them, that they acknowledged their defeat, and begged that Cæsar would use it according to his wonted generosity, and not treat them with the utmost rigour.* He spoke this in a very submissive manner; to which *Cæsar* answered, *That Afranius and his Colleague had less reason than any body to complain and desire favour, that all the others had done but their duty, that he had refused to fall upon them when he had the advantage, if possible by such honourable proceedings to have obliged them to a peace, that his Army being*

unwilling to revenge upon their Souldiers the perfidy by which they had put his men to the Sword, and their Souldiers also testifying their wishes for Peace, in sending to them to demand it, was a sufficient Testimony that every body did entertain sentiments of Justice and Amity, except Afranius and his Colleague, who without having any regard to the rules of truce and interviews, had barbarously butchered his men after having surprized them by a false shew of Friendliness and good intention, that they being therefore justly fallen into a condition which such arrogance and obstinacy deserved were reduced to implore that with submission which they had before refused with contempt; but that nevertheless he would not pretend to take any advantage either of their submission, or the favours of Fortune, but onely oblige them to dismiss those Troops that for so long time had born Arms against him. That and something more he added against the Conduct of his Enemies, and in fine, said, That as he had no design (though he might easily do it) to make use of those Troops for his assistance, so he would take care they should not be employed to his prejudice, that therefore they should quit the Province, and discharge their Souldiers, which was the onely condition of Peace he had to propose.

Afranius's Souldiers approved of this discourse, and testified their joy by their acclamations; so every thing was ordered accordingly, and those who were settled in Spain were discharged upon the place, the others were to be dismissed, so soon as they arrived at the River *Avarus*, Caesar promised

to furnish them with Provisions till they came to that place, and not to compell any of them to take Party in his Troops, which was all faithfully performed. *Fussius Calenus*, *Cesar's* Lieutenant General, guarded them with two Legions as far as *Avarus*, where they had liberty to depart. It is true that the greatest part of them ingaged themselves voluntarily in *Cesar's* Service, and the two Generals went to find out *Pompey*. *Cesar* that he might leave himself no Enemy in *Spain*, caused two Legions to advance under the Command of *Cassius Longinus*, and went himself to *Cordova* with six hundred Horse. *Varro*, who commanded for *Pompey*, had made some preparations there towards War, after having a long time disputed with himself which side he should take, but at the arrival of *Cesar* all the Towns, and one intire Legion abandon'd *Varro*; this obliged him to retire to *Cadiz*, where he had some Shipping: In the mean while *Cesar* becoming Master of the whole Province, *Varro* himself came to seek him out, and surrendered the remainder of his Forces into his hands, *Cesar* at that time leaving *Longinus* with four Legions in *Spain*, after having drawn great sums of Money out of all the Towns, he Embarked himself on board *Varro's* Ships, to go to *Tarragona*, from whence he went by land to *Narbone*, and so to the siege of *Mar-scilles*.

## CHAP. XXX.

*The continuation of the Siege of Marseilles, and the taking of that City. Cæsar chosen Dictator. The defeat and death of Curio in Africa.*

THAT City still held out against *Trebonius*, who besieged it by Land, and *Decimus* \* *Brutus*, who attacked it by Sea, and its obstinacy had like to have cost it its intire ruine. The Inhabitants, under the conduct of *Domitius*, and assisted by the Mountaneirs near the City, a fierce People, and very good Souldiers, having twice given Battel by Sea to *Brutus*, though with some difficulty, had been beaten in again. They were also attacked by Land, and blocked up by Lines and other Works. Necessity had driven them also to make use of Artifices, and under the pretence of a Treaty, which made *Cæsar's* Souldiers negligent, they made a strong Sally, in which they burnt a great many Towers and Warlike Engines, and this was the reason that the Siege lasted so long; besides, *Trebonius* had orders from *Cæsar*, not to force the place, for fear it should be utterly laid in Ruines by the unruliness of the Souldiers. *Cæsar* arrived just as they were reduced to their last extremity, and when the Plague was already got amongst the People, who had been for so long time shut up. They sent Deputies to him for a fair Capitulation

tulation, during which time *Domitius* made his escape by Sea; *Cesar* pardoned them in favour, as he said, of their Name and Antiquity, rather than for any other merit, upon condition, that they should surrender to him all their Arms and Engines of War, and give him all the Money that was in the City; so after having left two Legions there in Garrison, and sending the other into *Italy*, he departed for *Rome*, where the news of his Conquests had caused him to be chosen Dictator, by *Marcus* \* *Lepidus*, who was then Pretor; but that good fortune, which seemed hitherto to be inseparable from his Party, forsook him in *Africa*, whither *Curio* was gone from *Sicily* with two Legions and 500 Horse. This young Man, full of fire and courage, but without much experience in War, had to doe with *Attius Varus*, a Lieutenant of *Pompey's*, assisted by that *Quintillius Varus* whom *Cesar* had set at liberty, when he had taken him Prisoner in *Corfinium*, and *Juba* King of *Mauritania*. This Prince was a particular Enemy to *Curio*, by reason, that when he was Tribune he had proposed the reducing of his Kingdom into a Province: *Quintillius* being acquainted with *Curio's* Soldiers, when they had served in *Corfinium*, tried at first to debauch some of them; but *Curio* preserved their Faith by his Eloquence, and the consideration of the Name and Victories of *Cesar*; and to keep them in employment, led them on to attack the Camp of *Attius Varus*, near *Utica*, the Battel was  
very



very bloody, and at last *Cesar's* Men became Masters of the Camp; *Varius* was wounded, and *Curio* laid Siege to *Utica*, when *Juba* arrived with great Forces within Twenty five Miles of the place. *Curio* was much too weak for *Juba*, and expecting the coming up of new Troops, his design was not to expose himself to a Battel, when the *African* caused a report to be spread that some Important Affairs called him back into his Countrey, and that he would leave *Saburra*, one of his Lieutenants, with part of his Forces, to raise the Siege of *Utica*; *Curio's* Youth (saith *Cesar*) animated with courage, and the good success of his first exploits, made him too easily to believe that report; so he resolved for fighting, and went to find *Saburra* upon the River *Bagadra*, where he was encamped. At his first coming he surpris'd the Enemies *Numidian* Horse, whereof he made a great slaughter; and as he understood that *Saburra* Commanded those Troops, his present joy and future hopes hindred him from seeking any farther Information: So, with his Troops, wearied as they were, he marched directly upon the Enemy. *Juba* hearing of this, sent Two thousand *Gallick* and *Spanish* Horse, which were of his Guards, to his Lieutenant, with orders to retreat, (in fighting,) towards him. He was but six Miles from *Saburra*, and Marched that hour with his whole Army and Forty Elephants; *Saburra* following the King's Command, drew up his Men in Battalia, and made

a kind of retreat, which caused *Curio* to attack him very fiercely; and though for mere weariness a great many of his Horse had abandoned him, *Saburra* would make no opposition but with his own Cavalry against *Curio's*, which consisted onely of Two hundred Horse, and with this Squadron, where-ever he attacked them, he made the Enemy give way: The Cohorts of the Legions had the same success, but the Enemy always Rallied in expectation of *Juba's* Succour. At last the *Romans*, finding themselves hemmed in by the numbers, which all of a sudden increased upon them, *Curio* began to see his fault; He would have made an attempt to have gained a Mountain with his Foot, but *Saburra* opposed him with all his Horse. Then *Domitius*, who commanded *Curio's*, would have persuaded him to have saved himself with what Cavalry he had left, promising not to forsake him. *Can I*, says *Curio*, look *Cæsar* in the Face, after having lost an Army which he hath trusted to my Conduct? At these words he threw himself amongst the midst of his Enemies, where he was slain, the rest of his Troops were cut in pieces, and *Juba* used the Victory with so much Insolence, that he caused all the other Cohorts who were in the Camp, and to whom *Varrus* had given his word for their safety, to be killed in cold blood. So *Cæsar* lost two Legions, and all *Africk* entire, which afterwards remained for *Pompey's* Party, whose hopes, by this defeat of *Curio*, overcame his despair for the loss of *Spain*.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*Pompey's Forces. The defeat of Dylabella and Caius Antonius, Cæsar's Lieutenants, Brutus goes to find out Pompey.*

BY this means almost all the World becoming engaged in the Quarrel of these two Men, was sensible of the Calamities of War which that division had produced. Pompey had brought over all the East to his Interest; and during the time of Cæsar's being at Rome and in Spain, had drawn together very powerfull Armies both by Sea and Land: his Land Army consisted of three Roman Legions effective, without reckoning the other two which Scipio his Brother-in-law brought him: Three thousand Archers of Crete, of Lacedæmonia, and of Pontus, Eight Cohorts of Slingers, and 7000 Horse, composed (besides the Roman Knights) of Succours sent from Dejotarus King of Galitia, Ariobarzates King of Cappadocia, Cotis and Rhascupolis Kings of Thrace, and Antiochus King of Comagena; these Troops were distributed into Curazzo and Apollonia, and over all that Coast, to oppose the coming down of Cæsar; the Naval Army consisted of Five hundred great Ships, without reckoning Vessels that were rowed with Oars, as Gallies, Brigantines and others; the Principal Commanders were Pompey's eldest Son, called after his own Name, *Decius Lælius*,  
*Caius*

*Cajus Triarius*, *Cajus Cassius*, *Cajus Marcellus*, *Scribonius Libo*, and *Marcus Octavius*, all these Commanders had their particular Squadrons, and received Orders from *Bibulus* who executed the Office of Admiral: Besides these Forces, *Pompey* had drawn great Sums of Money out of *Asia* and *Greece*; And to recompence himself, in some manner, for the loss of *Spain*, had caused *Dolabella* and *Cajus Antonius*, who commanded for *Caesar* on the Coast of *Illyria*, to be attached. *Dolabella* was easily routed, and *Cajus*, who came to his succour, not being strong enough to keep the Sea, was driven into the Island of *Corcyra*, where *Octavius* and *Libo* besieged him. He defended himself very well; but at last his Souldiers prest by Famine, and corrupted by *Puleio*, one of their Centurions, surrendered themselves to *Octavius*, and betrayed also their Commandant into his hands. Some Officers; who thought to save themselves over Land, being pursued by the Enemy, slew themselves, and not one Man of all those Troops escaped. These advantages, which daily kept up the reputation of his Party, still engaged more persons of consideration to come and join themselves with *Pompey*, so that he found he had in his Camp above 200 Senatours, whereof he composed a body, and they assembled themselves in the form of a Senate. In one of these Assemblies, by the advice of *Cato*, it was determined, that no *Roman Citizen* should be put to death out of Battel, and that no Town subject

subject to the *Roman* Empire should be sacked. In effect, this Laudable and Honourable Decree drew the good wishes of the People upon the Authours of it, and gave the reputation of great Justice and Humanity to their designs, and was the occasion that the fortune of *Cesar* hung for a long time doubtfull, and it was upon this pretence also, that *Brutus* afterwards Conspired against him; *Brutus* had a great deal of reason to hate *Pompey*, who had caused his Father to be put to death. Nevertheless, that Severe Virtue, whereof he made profession, and the example of *Cato*, who was his Uncle and Father-in-law, ingaged him in that party which he thought had the most Justice on its side. And though he would never speak to *Pompey*, nor indeed so much as salute him, he nevertheless disdained not then to serve under him, to shew, that he could sacrifice his particular resentments to the Interest of the Republick. *Pompey* received him with a great deal of Joy, and did him signal honours. But *Brutus*, in consideration of his youth, would take no employment, but rather chose to leave the Commands to those who were above him in age as well as dignity.



## CHAP. XXXII.

*A Mutiny amongst Cæsar's Troops; he reduces them to their duty by his Eloquence and Resolution. He is chosen Consul with Servilius, and makes new Laws.*

**I**N the meanwhile, Cæsar being still at *Marseilles*, received news, that the Souldiers of the ninth Legion were in Mutiny at *Plaisance* against their Commanders, demanding their discharges, and the Money which had been promised to each of them at the beginning of the War. But that which stuck in their stomachs, was, that they were prohibited the liberty of Plundering, which they hoped to have obtained from the need which he had of their service. It was Cæsar's Maxime, never to condescend upon these occasions, but to support himself by a resolute Conduct, and the Authority which he had gotten. So he posted to *Plaisance* with some Troops, and calling the Mutineers together, *I know not*, says he, *what ill fortune opposes the end of my good Intentions; But I desire to have no others to bear witness than your selves of the diligence which I have used in War, which if it be prolonged, it has not been my fault, but the fault of my enemies, who fly before us. After the Conquest of Gaul, where every one of you, under my Conduct, got both Riches and Honour, we began this War by Common Consent, nor was it the effect of any private deliberations. We have begun and carried*

ried it on unanimously; but now when it is arrived to its greatest height, you seek for a pretence to abandon me, and instead of obeying your Officers you would command them. This is that which obliges me to throw off that mildness and humanity which I have hitherto used, to put in practice the *Maximes* of *Petereus*; and I command instantly a Decimation of the Ninth Legion, who hath rebelled against my Orders. The Mutineers, as much confounded at these words as if they had been Thunder-strucken, threw themselves at his Feet, and, with Tears in their Eyes, begged for Pardon, all their Officers did the same thing: *Cesar*, for some time, was Inexorable, but at last ordered, they should cast Lots, and the Lots fell on the Chief Mutineers, to the number of Six and twenty; but *Cesar's* Anger being over, he was contented that onely Twelve of the most notorious of them should suffer, who were Executed upon the place: afterwards it was found, that one of these was Innocent; and for that he could not be restor'd to life, *Cesar* caused him who had accused him falsely to be put to death also. Then (after a great many Indeavours to persuade him to it) he gave leave that the rest of that Legion which he had broken, should still serve under him. After this he went to *Rome*, where he held the *Comitia*, or Assemblies of the People, in quality of Dictatour; he kept that Dignity onely Eleven days, and caused himself to be chosen Consul with *Servilius Isauricus*; and, as his Design was to

make himself as many Friends as was possible; in pursuance of that purpose he proposed several favourable Laws; the first was concerning the borrowing of Money for the War, as it usually happens, having ruined all Credit, and rendred a great many Men insolvable, *Cesar* ordained, that an estimate should be made of Inheritances, at the same value they bore before the War, and that Creditours should take them according to this estimation, so he took away their fear of a general Bankruptry, and supported the Credit of the Debtours. Besides, he drew to his party all such as expected to be favoured in this estimate, which was the end of that Law. The other Law was, for the calling home those who had been Condemned during the time that *Pompey* presided in the passing Sentences of Justice. *Cesar* made also several other Ordinances, and after having quitted the Name and Dignity of Dictatour, departed for *Brundisium*.

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## CHAP. XXXIII.

*Cæsar with part of his Army goes into Greece: some discourse of Peace, but to no purpose. Two Armies draw towards one another near Du-razzo.*

HE had already sent Orders to Twelve of his Legions and all his Cavalry for their Rendezvous at *Brundisium*; the Legions were grown very thin by the Wars, and the Marches they had made, as well as by the Diseases of the Autumn, which this year proved very epidemical. In the mean while, for want of Shipping, onely five of them could embark, who amounted to no more than Twenty thousand Foot, and Six hundred Horse. He told his Souldiers, *That as they were within a day of bringing all their toile to an end, by a glorious Victory. It was necessary to leave their Servants and Equipage in Italy, to the end that a greater number of those Men, who were fit for service, might have room to Embark, that they might assure themselves of the fruit of their Victory, and of his acknowledgments.* They all cried out, that he should lead them where he pleased; so they went on board with great Joy, and in spite of the rigour of the season, upon the Fourth of January, *Cæsar* weighed Anchor. This much surprized the Officers of *Pompey's* Navy, who could not persuade themselves that *Cæsar* would venture his Troops at that time of the year when

the Seas were so dangerous. But *Cæsar* timed it so well, that he made his passage in one day, and came into a Road at the foot of those Mountains, which are called the *Cæraunium* Mountains; he made choice of that place, because it was far from the Ports which were possessed by his Enemies; when, after having landed his Souldiers, he sent back the Ships to transport the rest of his Army under the Command of *Calpurnius Bibulus*. *Bibulus* was at *Coryra* with a Hundred and ten Ships, and at the first news of *Cæsar's* passage put himself to Sea, and meeting *Cæsar's* Vessels upon the return, took Thirty of them, upon whom he discharged in Malice, for he burnt them all, with the very Seamen that were in them, and with his Fleet took possession of all the Ports and Roads between *Salonium* and *Orica*: He placed every where up and down very strong Guards, and lay himself on board, notwithstanding the danger of the season. In the mean time *Cæsar* took possession of *Orica* and *Apollonia*, who, at sight of his Troops, surrendered themselves; by that means to cut off from *Bibulus* all conveniency from Land, so long as he should stay to deprive him of the advantage of the Sea. *Cæsar*, who always took great care to justify his Arms, and make known the sincerity of his Intentions, had still in his hands *Vibullius Rufus*, whom he had twice taken Prisoner, first at *Corfinium*, and a second time in *Spain*. Him he sent to *Pompey*, with whom *Rufus* had some Credit; and desired him to represent to him,  
That



That Fortune seemed hitherto to have distributed equal loss and equal advantages to both parties, by that means, if possible, to bring them to some accommodation. But as each of them was obstinate in his opinion, let Arbitratours be chosen between them, who should be the Senate and the People of *Rome*; that if *Pompey* would renounce his Interest, and in three days dismiss his Troops, he himself would doe so also. *Rufus* charged with these Orders, departed with all diligence, and rid Post to advise *Pompey* of *Caesar's* arrival, that being the main thing which obliged *Rufus* to make indeed such haste, for he knew very well *Pompey* would not commit such an Error as to take the Senate and the People for Arbitratours, who at that time were absolutely for *Caesar*. *Bibulus* at the same time made another Proposition, which he knew very well how to evade, which was, to make a Truce, and permit *Pompey's* Ships to fetch from the Land Wood, Water and other Refreshments that they wanted: to which *Caesar* answered, That as they guarded the Sea against him, he would guard the Land against them; that if by the means of a Truce, they would have the conveniency of the Land, they ought to leave him the liberty of the Sea, and draw off their Squadrons which guarded the Coasts. His design was, to gain time for the Transporting the rest of his Troops: but *Bibulus*, who knew it very well, would accept of no Truce upon such Conditions. *Pompey* was in *Macedonia*, where *Rufus* joined with him, and

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fearing

fearing lest *Caesar* should take from him *Durazzo*, Marched with his whole Army to save that place where all his Ammunitions were lodged. It was in this March that he understood the difference between new Levies and old Souldiers; For as he made very great Journeys, abundance of the Men, either through laziness, or not being able to support the Fatigue, abandoned him; and at the least noise that *Caesar* was coming, were in continual disorder, and appeared as if they were defeated already. *Pompey* nevertheless came first to *Durazzo*, where he Intrenched himself upon the River of *Apse*, and where *Labyenus* found out an expedient for the confirming of his Troops. He caused the whole Army to be drawn together, and in the presence of all the Souldiers, Swore that he would never forsake his General, but follow him through all his Fortunes, all the other Officers took the same Oath, and then the Souldiers one after another. *Caesar* being prevented by the Enemy, came also and Incamped himself on the other side of the River, to cover the City of *Apollonia*, and both of them in this manner remained for some time, expecting the Succours that were to come up to them.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

*Cæsar exposes himself alone in a Skiff to go and find the rest of his Army.*

Cæsar's Legions who remained in *Italy*, were most of them old Souldiers, who had served a long time under him. At the first orders which they received for their Rendezvous at *Brundusium*, the proposing of still new toils made them begin to murmur, saying, *That they had worn out their bodies, and drained their veins in Cæsar's Service, that the weakness to which they were reduced, and the wounds which covered them ought to make him sensible that they were neither immortal nor invulnerable; but in the mean while they were dragged from War to War, till the very Iron of their Armour was wasted with wearing, and abundance of other discourse which old Souldiers that have done good Service will venture upon. In effect they took no care to go to Brundusium, but when they understood that Cæsar had passed the Sea, and was near the Enemy; the love which they had for him could not conceal it self, all their murmurings were turned into reproaches and complaints against their Officers, that they had not marched them soon enough, they cursed their sloath, and spent whole days upon the rocks of the Coast, in looking if they could see the Vessels returning for their Embarkment. Cæsar for his part was as much uneasy; he*  
had

had written at first to *Calenus* the danger he had in passing; all the Coast being possessed with the Enemies Vessels, and that advice saved his Troops; for *Calenus* having caused them to Embark on board those Vessels which he had left, *Cesar's* Letter obliged him to stay, and one onely Vessel that mistook his orders, fell into the hands of *Bibulus*, who again caused all that were on board to be slain, to terrify others by that example. At last *Bibulus* dying of an illness which he got at Sea, leaving no Commander in chief to succeed him, the Guards began not to be kept so exactly as before. *Cesar* saw that opportunity favourable for the passing of his Troops, and was almost despairing that they were not arrived so soon as he would have had them, for he had written several times. At last his impatience drove him upon an action which nothing could excuse but the confidence which he always had in his good Fortune, neither has he made any mention of it in his Commentaries, nor of another Action of his, which *Suetonius* takes notice of, where he underwent no less danger, but had more necessity for it. It was thus, the *Gauls* having in his absence besieged his Legions, he took a Gallick habit, and in that disguise went through the *Corps du Guard*, and the whole Enemies Army to come to his Camp, and it is very remarkable, that this General who could so freely hazard his own Person, never marched his Army but with the greatest caution imaginable,

ble, and after having first exactly informed himself of all the Defiles and other passages that were upon his way. *Caesar* therefore now disguised in the habit of a Slave, without making any of his people acquainted with his design, put himself on board a Fisher-mans Bark that was in the mouth of the River *Apse*, they were to go out that night, and his design being, when they were out at Sea, to make them row directly to *Brundisium*, they went away at the beginning of the night, but a stiff gale of wind blowing in upon the mouth of the River, made the Sea very rough in that place, the Master of the Bark made several attempts, with his Mariners to row out to Sea, but as the storm and the wind encreased, he ordered to forbear. *Caesar* onely opposed this design, and because the man was afraid of the danger, of a sudden discovering himself, and seeing that the Fisherman knew him, *Fear nothing*, says he, *for thou carriest Caesar and his Fortune.* The Mariners encouraged by *Caesar's* presence, behaved themselves so well, that they overcame the violence of the waves, but the Sea was so rough, and so high without the mouth of the River, that they imagined they must be all lost, and were at last forced to return to land. *Caesar* went back to his Camp, where his Souldiers running in whole shoals to his Tent, with a great deal of tenderness reproached him, saying, *That he disgrac'd them by going to seek out new Forces to fight the Enemy which they had before*  
them,



*them, whom they were sure they had strength and courage enough to overcome whenever he would vouchsafe to put himself at the head of them.*

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## CHAP. XXXV.

*The happy arrival of Cæsar's Troops in Greece. Cælius and Milo raising disturbances in Italy, are slain.*

IT was not without reason that *Cæsar* was so disquieted for his Troops in *Italy*. *Scribonius Libo*, was gone from *Orica* with 50 Ships under his Command, and posted himself in an Island near *Brundisium*, where he seized upon several Merchant Ships which were in the Road, he made also several descents into the main land, and with success, upon this advantage he sent word to *Pompey*, that with his Fleet onely he could hinder *Cæsar's* Troops from passing into *Epirus*, and that in the mean while the other Vessels might be refitted. *Cæsar* had also received other news from *Rome*, which made him very uneasy. *Cælius*, of whom I have spoken before, being discontented, with that Party in which his hatred to *Attius*, and *Curio's* Friendship had embarked him, sought all occasions to act against the Ordinances of *Cæsar*. He was Pretor, with *Trebonius*, whom *Cæsar* had put into Commission for taking the estimate of the inheritances; *Cælius* proclaimed that he was ready to receive the complaints

complaints of all such as had received any injury, and that he was ready to doe them justice: very few came to make their Complaints, and all Senatours opposed the undertaking, which obliged him to leave *Rome* under pretence of going to find out *Cesar*, but it was to join himself with *Milo*, who was returned into *Italy*, and had gathered together a great number of Gladiatours and Peasants, they reported what they did was by order from *Pompey*, but *Cesar's* good Fortune delivered him at one blow from this inconvenience, *Milo* and *Calius* being killed at the same time. *Milo* besieging a little Town in *Calabria*, and *Calius* by some Gallick and Spanish Cavalry whom he would have persuaded to desert. *Antonius* and *Calenus*, put *Libo* also to flight from before *Brundisium*, after having taken one of his Gallies, with those Shallops that belong'd to their Vessels fortified with Hurdles in the manner of a Parraper, and Manned with good Souldiers. Then they Embarked their Troops, and departed from *Brundisium*, the weather being very fair, and the wind South. *Cesar* had written very earnestly to them upon this occasion, and commanded them to come and land at *Apollonia*, they made their passage in a days time, and when they were arrived within sight of *Apollonia*, and *Dunazzo*, *Coponius* went out with the Rhodian Squadron which he commanded, to hinder their coming in. The wind was favourable to *Cesar's* People, and began to encrease in the

the moment that the Enemy appeared. *Coponius* was nevertheless resolved to follow them, and *Cesar's* Generals, who were for avoiding a fight at Sea, put themselves into the Haven of *Nimphis*, three miles above *Lisso*. This Haven was sheltered from the South-East wind, but was exposed to the South, and by extraordinary good Fortune, the wind which had been at South for two days together, changed to the South-East in the very moment that they cast Anchor, so those of *Cesar* got safe into a good Haven, and *Coponius's* Squadron was driven upon the Coast with so much violence, that all his Vessels perished, the Souldiers and Seamen were most of them drowned, and the rest fell into *Cesar's* hands, who afterwards gave them their liberty. Two of *Antonius's* Ships, who could not follow the rest, came to an Anchor near *Lisso*, whom *Ottacilius Crassus*, who Commanded for *Pompey*, caused to be attacked with Shallops, and other little Boats. One of the Ships had in her 220 new raised Levies, and the other 200 old Souldiers, the new raised men being terrified with the number of the Enemy, surrendered themselves to *Ottacilius* upon his Parole, who nevertheless with horrid perfidy, put them all to the Sword; but the Veterans amusing the Enemy by a feigned Capitulation, made the Seamen run their Vessel a shore, where they saved themselves, and after having repulsed and beaten six hundred Horse, whom *Ottacilius* sent against them, they went and joined

ned themselves with *Antonius*: The City of *Lisso* also revolted against *Ottacilius*, who retreated towards *Pompey*, leaving the place to *Antonius*, who immediately took it into his possession.

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## CHAP. XXXVI.

Marcus Antonius joins himself with Cæsar in flight of Pompey, who retreats to Asparagua near Durazzo.

**A**ntonius had with him three old Legions, two Legions of new raised Soldiers, and eight hundred Horse. He sent his Ships into *Italy* to transport the rest of the Troops, and kept onely his flat bottomed Boats at *Lisso*, which were a sort of Vessels the *Gauls* were wont to make use of, to the end that if *Pompey* should have a design of putting to Sea, *Cæsar* might be in a condition to follow him. Then *Antonius* gave him an account of his arrival, and where he was. *Pompey* at the same time learned the news by those who had seen the Ships under Sail before *Durazzo*. These two Generals were encamped upon the River of *Asse*, and as their Camps were onely separated by that River, the Soldiers had frequent Parley's, which occasioned the last Propositions that ever were made for an Ac-

Accommodation. *Vibullius Rufus*, when *Cæsar* sent him, had made the first overture, but *Pompey* by the advice of *Libo*, of *Luceius*, and a certain Greek named *Theophanes*, who was his chief Confident, stood out upon a point of Honour, at that time something unseasonable, (at least, if we may believe *Cæsar* in his Commentaries) saying, That he could not bear the thinking that his life and his return to Rome should appear to the world as a favour bestowed upon him by *Cæsar*. Nevertheless *Vatinius*, *Cæsar's* Lieutenant, endeavoured to renew the Conference upon the River of *Apse*; and on *Pompey's* behalf, *Varrō* had promised there should be a Meeting to that purpose. All the Lieutenant-Generals of both Parties agreed upon a day for Conference; when they came to the place appointed, *Labiennus* advanced, and after having spoke something upon the Subject they were to treat of, he was interrupted by a great number of Arrows and other Darts, which were shot at *Cæsar's* Lieutenants. *Vatinius* was sheltered by the Bucklers of the Souldiers who were with him, but *Cornelius Balbus*, *Plotius*, and *Tiburcius*, were wounded, and *Labiennus* cryed out with great insolence, That it was to no purpose to speak farther of peace, if they brought not with them the head of *Cæsar*: This is what he himself hath reported, and that from this moment he thought of nothing but War, this happened some time before the coming of *Antonius*, so the two Generals decamped in the same day. *Cæsar*



to join himself with *Antonius*, and *Pompey* to hinder him. He had no River to pass as *Cesar* had, but went and posted himself in a place which he thought most proper for an Ambuscade, which he laid for *Antonius*, but he being advised of it by the Greeks of the Countrey, entrenched himself in a Post, where he stayed and expected *Cesar*, who soon after arrived; and *Pompey* fearing to be hemmed in between the two Armies, retreated to *Aspargua*, near *Durazzo*, leaving *Antonius* the liberty of joining *Cesar*, which he did the same day. So *Cesar* and *Pompey* at the head of all their Troops were in a readiness to dispute the Empire of the world, and all the glory which they both had gotten in War, and as they have obscured the lustre and reputation of all those who went before them, and as their names to this day are made use of, when ever we would describe the qualifications of an able General. The account of all their proceedings cannot but afford us great use as well as pleasure: We have here taken it out of the Commentaries of *Cesar*, who as far as we are able to judge, has reported it with all sincerity.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

*Cæsar offers Battel to Pompey, who refuses it. They both post themselves near Durazzo. Cæsar hemmed in by the lines of Pompey's Camp.*

**C**Æsar (after having drawn together all his Army, and knowing that Pompey was at *Aspargua*) marched directly towards him, and in his passage forced a Burrough Town, where Pompey had left a Garrison. After three days march he came in sight of the Enemies Camp, and fortified his own, from whence the next day he drew out all his Troops to offer Battel to Pompey, who refused it, and came not forth. Cæsar knew from that moment that he must take other measures. So he decamped the next day to go towards *Durazzo*, and though he was forced to march by certain Defiles, which were very incommodious; he had two designs, either to reduce Pompey to shut himself up in *Durazzo*, or to cut off his passage thither, forasmuch as all his Provisions and Equipage of War was there, which last design in part succeeded. Pompey believed at the first by the motion of Cæsar's Troops, that they were forced to draw off for want of Provisions; but when he understood his design by his Spies, and those whom he sent to make incursions into the Countrey; The next day he began to march, hoping that he might prevent the Enemy by a shorter way than  
than

than that which they had been forced to make use of. But *Caesar* having foreseen what might happen, and encouraging his Souldiers by his words and his own Example, left them onely a small part of the night to rest themselves in, and arrived the next morning under the Walls of *Durazzo*, when they began to discover the Van of *Pompey's* Army, who immediately calling a Council of War, went and possessed himself of a Hill called *Petra*, which commanded the Sea, and under which there was a small shelter for Ships, where very few winds could come to annoy them. They both immediately intrenched themselves in the Posts they had taken. *Pompey* caused a party of his Ships to come under his Camp, and immediately sent into *Asia*, and the other Countries which held for him, to fetch Provisions and Ammunition; *Caesar* perceiving then that the War might in all likelihood last long, that he had very little Corn, and that his places of Retreat on the Coasts of *Italy* and *Spain* were very uncertain, sent *Canuleius* one of his Lieutenants into *Epirus*: He caused Magazines to be lodged from place to place, in regard that Province was a great way off, and ordered all the Neighbouring Towns to come out and work at the Carriages; Moreover he caused what Corn could be found in the Island, in the Burrough Towns of the *Parthians*, and all the other Castles, to be brought in to him. But as that Soil could furnish him with very

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little

little (*Pompey* having already ruined all those places, and taken away the Corn,) the succours proved to be but very inconsiderable. This put *Cæsar* upon a design which he conceived might be feasible from the nature and disposition of the ground. All round *Pompey's* Camp there were certain little Hills that were high and hard to climb, these *Cæsar* possessed himself of, and built Towers upon them in the nature of Redoubts, then causing lines of Communication to be drawn from Mountain to Mountain, or other works according to the disposition of the place, endeavoured by that circumvallation to block up *Pompey*. *Pompey* on his part endeavoured to extend himself, and take in as much of the Countrey as was possible with the length of his Works, which he carried on very far, fortifying from Hill to Hill, so that with four and twenty Redoubts he possessed a space of 15000 paces, where his Cavalry found Forrage, and where also there were abundance of Fields sown with Corn; We shall not undertake to judge of the Conduct of these great Men so rashly as other Authours have done, who have declared that all those Works were of no use nor advantage; for they had both of them their particular reasons for what they did, and *Cæsar* has reported some of his, saying, *That his design was to cut off from Pompey's Cavalry the liberty of going out in Parties, for that they were more in number than his, and might very much incommode his Convoy's, take from him the conveniency* of

of Forrage, and by that means render them unfit for service. Besides, his business was to beat down that high esteem which kept up Pompey's Party amongst the Nations that were Strangers, when all the world should know that he was invested by Cæsar, and that he durst not venture the hazard of a Battel. For it was that which Pompey could by no means be brought to, nor to go far from the Sea, from whence he had all his Provisions, nor from *Durazzo*, where were all his Engines, his Darts and other Ammunitions of War; and in fine, it appears with great likelihood that these Leaders both of them accomplished in the Art of War, and instructed by long experience of the many advantages which a sudden occasion well managed might offer, especially between two Armies so near to one another, were both of them watchfull for the first opportunity. In effect, as Cæsar's Men dayly carried on their Works to prevent their being attacked in their Rere, those of Pompey did the same to enlarge themselves, and hinder the Enemy from assaulting them upon the Flanks. They had the advantage in number; besides, theirs being the innermost circumvallation, was not extended so far as Cæsar's. And though Pompey avoided a general Battel, nevertheless he dayly sent out his Archers and Slingers against the Enemy, which obliged Cæsar's Souldiers to make certain Blinds with Clothes and Skins for their defence against the Arrows.



## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*A fight between Cæsar and Pompey's Troops.*

**C**æsar applied himself principally to shut up the Enemy with his lines, who on their part endeavoured the gaining more ground, which was the reason that no day passed without some encounter or other. Cæsar's ninth Legion had taken possession of an advanced ground, where they began to fortify themselves, when from a Neighbouring eminence almost level with it, Pompey sent his Lancers against that Legion, and then caused his light armed Souldiers to advance with Engines, wherewith he played upon those that wrought. Therefore as it was a very hard task for Cæsar's Souldiers to fight and work both at the same time, and considering how they were battered on every side, he resolved to draw them off, but as he was to make his retreat by the steep part of the Mountain it proved a business very nice and dangerous. The Enemy, who believed that their fear was the occasion of their retreat, became more fierce, and prest them so much the closer; and it has been observed, that Pompey was so far transported, as to say, *That he would be contented to be thought no Souldier, if Cæsar's Legions got off from that place where they had so rashly engaged themselves without loss.* Nevertheless, this was Cæsar's design, he caused a great many Hurdles to be

be brought and planted towards the front of the Enemy, upon the bending of the hill; behind these, he ordered the throwing up of a little Ditch, and all the Avenues to be intangled and filled up with cumbersome matter, after this, he drew up his Slingers to favour the retreat, and marched his Legions through their intervals. This proceeding augmented the fury of *Pompey's* Souldiers, who had already thrown down the Hurdles to pass the Ditch, when *Cesar* gave the word of Command to face about, and after that *Antonius*, who Commanded that Legion, had exhorted them to behave themselves well, he Commanded to sound a charge, and attack those that were come over; the Souldiers at their close order discharged their Javelins, and running up with their Swords in their hands, drove back those of *Pompey*, and put them to flight. The Ditch, the Hurdles, and the other incumbrances incommoded them very much, and was the occasion that a great many of them perished; but *Cesar's* Men being contented to have secured their Retreat, returned back, after having killed a great number of the Enemy, and onely lost five Men of their own. This manner of making War from Mountain to Mountain, was doubtless very extraordinary, and the design of that sort of siege was no otherways, for *Cesar* undertook to besiege an Enemy, who was much stronger than himself, and who had Provisions and Ammunitions in abundance, when his

own Men at the same time were reduced to the greatest extremity imaginable, at least for want of Corn, though *Epirus* had furnished them with flesh, nevertheless they bore all with most admirable constancy, contenting themselves with Beans and Barley, moreover, they found the way of making Bread with a Root called *Chara*, which they mingled with Milk, and some of this they often threw amongst *Pompey's* Souldiers, saying, *That they would rather eat the Barks of Trees, than let Pompey escape, whom they had now in their power.* He was extremely surprised at it, and said, *That he did not think he had had wild Beasts to deal withall.* Neither was he without his inconveniences; his Cavalry began to suffer for want of Forrage, both the Beasts and the Men dying in his Camp, had corrupted the air, and ingendred Diseases; besides, they wanted water, for *Caesar* had either stopt or turned the course of the Rivers which used to supply them, his own Men having it in all abundance, and enjoying a very good air, so that the advantages and disadvantages being equally distributed between the two Armies, they passed no day without enterprising something or other. *Pompey* had observed by the lights which were every night set up in *Caesar's* Fortifications, where his Souldiers kept their Guard, then causing some Archers to advance in the dark, shot flights of Arrows into the Fortifications, that wounded a great many Men, but for this inconveniency they soon

soon found a remedy, they made their Fires in one place, and posted their Corps du Guard in another. But as these little Skirmishes signified nothing to the main matter, *Pompey* resolved not to defer it to the last extremity; and knowing that *Caesar* was one night gone from his Camp for the management of some Intelligence which he had in *Durazzo*, went that very night, with the best part of his Troops, to attack a Castle which was near *Caesar's* Camp, and defended by one Cohort, while he caused six other attacks to be made at the same time in different places.

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## CHAP. XXXIX.

*Pompey attacks Cæsar's Fortifications; the Valour of Sceva. Pompey quits his Camp; the Treason of Roscillus and Ægus.*

**C**Æsar's Men, notwithstanding their being surpris'd, defended themselves beyond imagination; and though they were overwhelmed with Darts and Arrows, though four Centurions had lost each of them an eye, and that all the Souldiers, without exception, were wounded, nevertheless, unequal as it was, they maintained the Fight for above fifteen hours. *Sceva*, one of the Centurions, who defended the Castle-gate, being wounded in the eye, in the shoulder and the thigh, stretched out his hand to the Enemy, as if he made sign of surrendering himself, and as two of their Officers advanced towards him, he attacked them both with his Sword, one after another; All the Souldiers behaved themselves with the same Courage; so that *Sylla*, who commanded the Camp in *Cæsar's* absence, had time enough, with two Legions, to come up to their succour. *Pompey's* Troops were not able to bear the first charge; And it is believed, that had *Sylla* followed his advantage, he might have totally routed them in their Retreat: but as the duty of a Lieutenant is very different from that of a Captain-General, in consideration that one never acts but by Limited Orders, when



when the other is at liberty to proceed according to the best of his Judgment. *Cesar* himself excused him for being contented to have repulsed the Enemy and cleared the Fortifications: There was found within the place Thirty thousand Arrows, which they presented to *Cesar* when he came back, with the Buckler of *Sceva*, which had been pierced with Two hundred and thirty shots. *Cesar*, according to his usual manner, Caressed extremely all the Souldiers of that Cohort; he caused their proportions of Bread and their Pay to be doubled, and gave almost to all of them Bracelets, Piles and other marks of honour: as for *Sceva*, he had given him for reward Two thousand Crowns, and was advanced from the Eighth Company to the Command of the First. *Pompey* drew not his Troops far off from the Castle, onely encamping himself where the Darts could not reach him; in all his different Attacks he had lost Two thousand Men, and Six Ensigns; so he made, in a short time, good Works round his Camp, as Redoubts and Ditches, of Fifteen foot broad, fortified with Pallisadoes towards the Enemy; and at last, after having caused the Entrances into his Camp to be filled up, he chose a very dark night, and retreated with all his Troops into his old Trenches. *Cesar*, encouraged by this good success, went every day and presented him Battel within view of his Lines; and though *Pompey* drew out also in Battalia, nevertheless he always kept his Troops under defence of his

his Ramparts, where *Cæsar* did not think fit to attack him. *Pompey* had sent all his Cavalry by Shipping to *Durazzo*, for their subsistence, and to try to incommode the Enemy, by making Incurfions. But *Cæsar* possessed himself of the two Avenues, by which onely he could send out parties; so *Pompey* was forced to order their return to the Camp, by the same way that they went; and here indeed they suffered much, the Horses being forced to eat Reeds and Leaves shaken together, which made them very lean; and the Horsemen themselves had much ado to subsist, by reason that every thing being consumed within, they were forced to fetch their Provisions from very far. So their General resolved to make one attempt for all to force the Trenches. *Roscillus* and *Ægus*, the Sons of *Albucillus*, a Man of the first quality in *Savoy*, had served under *Cæsar* ever since the *Gallick War*, where they had behaved themselves very well, nor were they ill rewarded for it. For besides the Senatorian Dignity which he had bestowed upon them, they had received great marks of his acknowledgment, and were grown very rich; These two Men relying upon the Friendship of their General, and puffed up with a foolish and barbarous arrogance, treated all their under Officers with contempt, cheated their Souldiers of their Pay, and whatsoever Booty their Troops met with, still kept it to themselves. This obliged the Men to make their Complaints to *Cæsar*, acquainting him also, that though they

they might have received full Pay, their Troops were never Completed. *Cesar* believing this no fit time to make examples in, and that something ought to be allowed in consideration of the merit of these two Brothers, neglected the taking any notice of the matter, but did not forget privately to tell them his opinion, and assure them, it would be more for their advantage to serve him well. These two men, provoked by this Remonstrance, and believing that though he slipt it now, he might take another opportunity to resent their ill conduct, resolved to quit his Service, and go over to the Enemies Camp. So after having unsuccessfully attempted to kill *Volusenus* the General of the Cavalry, they borrowed what Money they could, and carrying away a great many Horses, went and surrendered themselves to *Pompey*, who received them with as much Joy, as upon so extraordinary an occasion might be expected; none of *Cesar's* Souldiers having yet come over to *Pompey*, though every day some of his took party with *Cesar*.

## CHAP. XL.

*Pompey attacks Cæsar's Trenches : great disorder amongst Cæsar's Troops ; he confirms them by his presence.*

THE Savoyards who knew where Cæsar's Trenches were weakest, instructed Pompey in the particulars of it, which confirmed him in that design he had before resolved upon. He caused Helmets of Ozier-twigs to be made for all his Souldiers, and commanded they should fall to digging of Turff; when this was done he put a great number of Archers and Light-armed Foot on board the Merchant Ships and Shallops; At the same time he carried Sixty Cohorts, which he drew out of his Camp and his Fortifications, to that part of Cæsar's Trenches which was nearest the Sea, and farthest from the General's Quarters. At the same time the Vessels who brought the Turff and the Light-armed Foot came ashore in the same place;

\* Cornelius \* *Lentulus Marcellinus* the Questor Commanded there for Cæsar, but he being indisposed, *Posthumus* gave Orders under him. That side of the Rampart which looked towards the Enemy was Ten foot high, and as many broad, with a Ditch of Fifteen foot; and Cæsar having foreseen that Pompey might, by Sea, make some attempt upon that Post, had caused another to be thrown up, parallel to it, Five hundred Paces distance, but it was not

not indeed altogether so deep. His design was to have made a third, which should have joined them both upon the Sea-side; But it seeming so cruel a thing to him to harass the Souldiers, wearied with throwing up Works, which already took up Nineteen thousand Paces of Ground, hindred his putting of it in execution. In the meanwhile this negligence had like to have cost him his Fortune and all his Reputation. *Pompey* had notice of this fault by the *Savoyards*, so at break of day he came with all those Forces I mentioned, to attack the Cohorts of the ninth Legion which were upon the Guard at the Sea-side. They were surpris'd with the Light-armed Foot and Archers from the Ships, who immediately surrounded and attacked them with flights of Arrows. The Ditches were filled with the Turff which *Pompey* had caused to be brought thither, so his Legionaries planted their Ladders against the Rampart, and with their Darts and their Engines overthrew those that defended it: The Helmets of Ozier which they had defended them from the fall of Stones, which were the onely Arms that *Cesar's* Men could make use of upon this occasion: so these Souldiers being attacked on every side, and seeing that the Enemy advanced to hem them in by that part of the Entrenchment which was not Fortified, quitted their Posts and turned their backs. *Marcellinus* hearing what had happened, ordered some Cohorts to March to their Relief; but the fear and confusion of those who fled from the



the Camp, infected them also ; and all the other Troops which were sent to their assistance served onely to add to their disorder. All the Officers of the first Cohort were lost upon this occasion, except the eldest Centurion. He who carried the Eagle of the Legion, seeing himself mortally wounded, calling to him some Horsemen ; *I have, said he, for many years preserved this Ensign with the hazard of my life, and now I am dying, with the same affection I restore it unto Cæsar, do not let it be lost by a misfortune, which is not yet come upon us, but save it to return it to Cæsar.* So the Standard was preserved, but the slaughter every where was great. In the meanwhile Pompey drawing near to Marcellinus his Camp, where the fear had already got possession, Antonius appeared hard by, upon an advanced ground, with Twelve Cohorts, which Pompey perceiving made a halt, and Cæsar's Troops began to take heart again: Cæsar arrived a moment after with the other Cohorts, and by causing every where thick smoaks to be made, gave the signal that Relief was coming. And when he saw that Pompey, who was retired, had forced those Lines, whereby he thought to shut him up, he found it convenient to change his design, and immediately caused a Post to be fortified near the Sea, there to encamp himself, to the end that he might have the liberty of Forrage, and reception for his Shipping.

## CHAP. XLI.

*Cæsar, in a great Battel, is overthrown: Pompey loses the opportunity of totally routing him. Cæsar's opinion upon that occasion.*

AS these Entrenchments were almost completed, his Scouts brought him word that there was a Legion Marching on the back-side of the Wood to take possession of *Pompey's* old Camp. To comprehend this we must understand, that after the Ninth Legion (as we before observed) had made head against *Pompey's* Troops, and repulsed them with advantage, *Cæsar* had posted himself in the place where that action was done; The Camp reached as far as a Wood, and was not above Four hundred paces from the Sea. Some days after *Cæsar* had quitted that Post, and *Pompey* took possession of it. And because he had more Legions, he onely caused another Cover to be made to the first Camp, without ruining the old Fortifications; so this little Camp served onely for a Platform or Cittadel to the great one. He also caused a Line to be drawn from the left Angle of his Camp about Four hundred paces, as far as the River, for a passage to the Water in safety; but a little time after he also changed his design, and quitted that Post, the lines whereof were still standing. This was the place whither that Legion was Marching; *Cæsar's* Sentinels gave him an account of it;

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and those who from the Hills had observed the motion; confirming the News, he believed that fortune presented him with this occasion to repair the loss he had before sustained; so leaving onely two Cohorts to make a shew upon the Ramparts, he Marched in all secrecy with 33 Cohorts, in which number was the Ninth Legion, although it had lost a great many Souldiers and Officers. His Army was upon two Lines, and he upon the Left Wing. All things succeeded immediately as he expected, he arrived at the Camp before *Pompey* could have any notice of it; and the Wing which he headed Charging fiercely upon the Rampart, put those who defended it to flight. The Battel was very fierce at the entrance, which was filled with Turnpikes. *Puleio*, he who betrayed *Caius Antonius's* Army, defended it with extraordinary Valour, but at last *Caesar's* Men carried it merely by their Courage, and having broke the Turnpikes in pieces, they entred within the first Fortification, and afterwards attacked the Platform whither the Legion was retreated; a great many were killed in this place; and the Action had been very fine, and of great advantage, if Fortune, who loves to shew the power which she usurpes over all things, and especially in War, had not proved unconstant. The Cohorts of *Caesar's* Right Wing searching for the entrance into the Camp, followed the outside of that Trench which led them to the River, believing that it was the Rampart of  
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the Camp. when perceiving their Error, they put themselves upon the Rampart, and as there was no body there to defend it, passed easily; all the Cavalry followed these Cohorts, seeking for breaches to enter. This unhappy proceeding gave *Pompey* time to come to their succour with the Fifth Legion, putting all his Cavalry before him; so that both parts of the Camp which was attacked, at the same time discover'd *Pompey* Marching Embattell'd with his Legions. At sight of this every thing began to change; the Legion that was besieged, by the hope of this Succour, recovered so much courage as to make a Sally and Charge those of *Caesar*. His Cavalry finding themselves disordered in passing the Ramparts, thought of nothing but how to save themselves; and his right and left wing being separated, were equally terrified with seeing the Horse upon the flight, and fearing to be cut in pieces in that strait place, hurried through the breaches of the Ramparts with so much disorder, that a great many falling headlong into the Ditches, the others passed over them to save themselves. The Souldiers of the left wing, seeing the Succours of *Pompey*, the overthrow of their Friends, and the Enemy before and behind them, sought to return through the place where they entered. At last, nothing but disorder, fear and a total rout was every where to be seen; so that in spite of all *Caesar's* endeavours himself, to retain the Ensigns which fled, abundance of them forsook him, their Colours,

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Horses

Horses and all, and run away on Foot. One amongst the rest, an able and strong Man, but confounded with the fear he was in, turned upon him the point of his Launce, and had certainly killed him, if his Master of the Horse, at one blow, had not cut off his arm. At last, a Party of *Pompey's* Horse appearing at the entrance of the Camp, forced them to make head in that place. *Pompey* pursued his Victory as far as *Caesar's* very Camp, but durst not attack it, in which he committed a fault which cost him dear in the consequence. *Caesar* avouches, *That his Army might have been entirely overthrown upon that occasion:* and farther adds, *That he had been lost without redress, could Pompey have known how to have made use of the Victory:* For this he gives three Reasons, *That Pompey was afraid of falling into an Ambuscade; That his Cavalry amused themselves too long with desiring to force the entrance into the Trenches; And that that defeat happening beyond his hopes, he knew not immediately how to take the right course:* To this we may add, That in all likelihood *Pompey's* Troops suffered themselves to be deluded, that in spite of him they would follow the Runaways, and that he would not engage himself to attack *Caesar's* Camp, knowing well, that he left behind him a brave and daring Enemy, with a great part of his Forces.



## CHAP. XLII.

*Cæsar's discourse to his Troops to confirm them, he Decamps to March toward Theſſaly. Pompey follows him.*

Cæſar loſt a great many Men upon theſe two occaſions, which happened both in the ſame day. Some have given an account of Nine hundred and ſixty Souldiers, Thirty two Enſigns, and a great many excellent Officers; amongſt others *Tuticanus* and *Felginus*, who were both *Gauls*; another *Felginus* of *Plaiſance*, *Gravins* *Sacrativir*, and Thirty Tribunes or Centurions. *Pompey* and his whole Party were much encouraged with the Victory, and ſent the News of it over all the World, reporting, That *Cæſar* was totally routed, and with what miſerable Troops he had left, fled before them. It is true indeed, that reflecting upon his conduct, he paſſed the next night not very pleaſantly. But as he underſtood the valour of his Souldiers, and knowing that the diſorder was occaſioned by themſelves, and not by the vigour of the Enemy; having beſides been uſed to the changeableneſs of Fortune, and the effects of a panick Fear, where an unſeaſonable apprehenſion intangles the greateſt Armies, and the diſorders, which the Imprudence of a General Officer, or the negligence of any particular Commander may produce, he would not ſuffer himſelf to loſe either his courage

or his hopes, but he imagined that it might be proper wholly to change the manner of that War, and to speak to his Souldiers. Therefore he caused them to quit the Fortifications all at the same time; and when he had re-assembled them. *I see nothing* (says he) *in this occasion, which ought to trouble you; and after so many Battels, wherein ye have won glory and advantage, gallant Men ought not to be discouraged with a little disgrace. We ought to thank Fortune for our Conquest of all Italy, which cost us not a wound; for our subduing Spain, possessed by powerfull Armies, under experienced and able Commanders, and reducing so easily those rich and fertile Provinces which now lie round us. Remember still the good Fortune ye had in passing the Sea to come hither, even through the Fleets of your Enemies, when not onely the Havens, but the very Rivers too were taken up by their Troops. If in this last encounter Fortune seemed to have forsaken us, correct her Capriciousness by your own Valour and Industry; For it is easie to perceive, that her fault, and not your own, has brought upon us the present misfortune; the place of Battel was well chosen, ye carried the Enemies Camp at the first onset; ye beat and put them to flight with your Swords in your hands; and if one little disorder, one error of Inadvertency, or indeed if destiny it self has deprived us of the advantage we had gotten, ye ought to endeavour to recover it by your proper virtue; so this Misfortune shall turn to your glory as it did in Gergoria; and those who in this Battel have shewn the least fear, shall be the first to charge the Enemy in the next.* After

ter this Harangue he Cashiered some Ensigns, but he had not need to make any other examples; For the Souldiers offered, and would voluntarily have undertaken great Labours to punish themselves. They desired a Battel, where they might either all die, or be revenged. Some of the Chief Officers were of opinion, that this eagerness ought to be made use of: But *Cesar* thought otherwise; so he commanded his Baggage, with all the Sick and Wounded, to March in the beginning of the night towards *Apolonia*. He gave them one Legion for their Convoy, with order to make no stop till they came to the place. These orders being executed, retaining two Legions in his Camp, at Three a Clock in the Morning he caused all the other Legions to March out by the Avenues and follow the Baggage; and a little while after, making the usual Cries, according to the Custome of Military Discipline at that time, he departed at the head of his Two Legions, to join the Body of his Army, which he did with all speed. *Pompey*, when he knew the design of his Enemy, lost no time, he quitted his Camp with all his Army, and sent his Cavalry full speed to put a stop to *Cesar's* Troops. But as they were gone a great way before, and Marched without Baggage, *Pompey's* Cavalry came not up to them till the end of the Journey, at the passage of the River *Genusæ*. *Cesar* opposed them with his Horse, and Four hundred others of his best Souldiers, mingled in their Ranks, who made great havock

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amongst *Pompey's* Men, and forced them to retreat: so he passed the River, and went and Posted himself in his old Camp near *Asparagium*; he kept all his Infantry at their Arms in the Trenches, and sent out his Horse to Forage, with orders to return again with what speed they could. *Pompey* also came and took possession of his old Camp near *Asparagium*. And his Souldiers having no Fortifications to make in a place so well Entrenched as that was, went out, some to fetch in Wood and Provisions, others, who in the haste of their departure, had forgotten something in the other Camp, which was not far off, after having laid down their Arms, returned again thither. *Cesar*, who imagined something like this might happen, decamped the next day at Noon, and pressing his Troops hard, had Marched them Eight miles, before *Pompey* could be in a condition to follow him: the next morning *Cesar* departed again at break of day, always causing his Baggage to March before, that nothing might incommode the order of his Army. This method he used the days following, and by that means got over the Rivers and difficult passages without the loss of any of his Men; for though *Pompey* followed him with extreme diligence, the advantage of being a day before him, and the inconveniency of his Baggage forced him, upon the fourth day, to give over the unsuccessfull pursuit.

## CHAP. XLIII.

*Cæsar goes into Apollonia, Domitius joins himself with him, the taking of Gomphes and Metropolis.*

**C***æsar* was forced to go to *Apollonia* to dispose there of his sick Men to muster his Army, and leave some Troops in their Quarters, by that means to secure his Allies, spending no more time in this Voyage than was absolutely necessary for a man who had other business upon his hands, he feared lest *Pompey* might surprise *Domitius Calvinus*, one of his Lieutenants, who was in *Macedonia* with three Legions, accompanied with *Cassius Langinus*. They had thoughts of *Metellus Scipio*, *Pompey's* Brother-in-Law, who Commanded the Legions of *Syria* with *Favonius* and other Officers, and had often endeavoured to engage them upon some advantage. Now *Cæsar's* design was either to draw *Pompey* far from the Sea, and force him to a Battel, or if that General should go into *Italy* to leave *Domitius*, and return by *Illyria* to follow *Pompey*, or at last if *Scipio* should besiege *Orica* or *Apollonia* to fall upon him, whom he knew very well *Pompey* would not forsake. *Pompey* thought also to surprise *Domitius*, before *Cæsar* came up; so these two Generals marched with all the speed and diligence imaginable, and *Domitius* thought of delivering himself to the Enemy; for the  
news



news of the Battel at *Durazzo*, having turned the minds of the people in favour of *Pompey*, they had stopped all *Cesar's* Couriers to *Domitius*, who receiving no intelligence of the marching of the Armies, was come to post himself at *Heraclea*. This City was under the Mountain of *Cadavia*, where *Pompey's* Army must pass to get into *Macdonia*; *Cesar's* had been retarded by their Voyage to *Apolonia*, and every thing seemed to contribute to the loss of *Domitius*, which had been inevitable, if some *Savoyards* belonging to *Rosillus* and his Brother had not by chance met with his Couriers. As they had all served together in *Gaul*, they did not treat them like Enemies, onely with a kind of Vanity, which Souldiers sometime will be guilty of, told them that *Cesar* was beaten, that he was retreated, and that *Pompey* was coming up with all his Army. This advice saved *Domitius*, who made his Retreat so opportunely, that he was not gone above four hours before *Pompey's* arrival. He went to *Agira* upon the Frontiers of *Thessaly*, where he joined himself with *Cesar*. This General seeing all his Forces together, marched to *Gomphes*, which is the first Town upon the way from *Epirus* to *Thessaly*, the Inhabitants who at first had promised *Cesar* their Obedience, changed their minds as others had done before them, upon the report of his being beaten, being persuaded to it by *Aridrostenes*, Pretor of *Thessaly*, he was then in the City, and after  
having

having sent to *Scipio* and *Pompey* for succour, caused the *Gates* to be shut against *Cesar*, *Scipio* was at *Lerissa*, and *Pompey* was not yet in *Thessaly*, which caused *Cesar* to attack *Gomphes*, he ordered Ladders, great Baskets filled with earth, and Hurdles to be got ready with all diligence, and after having represented to his Souldiers the benefit of forcing a place that was very rich, and well furnished he caused an assault to be made with so much fury, that the Town was taken by nine a clock the same day, he abandoned it to be pillaged, and without stopping marched his Army to *Metropolis*, before the news should arrive of the taking of *Gomphes*. In effect the Inhabitants of *Metropolis* had a design to stand upon their defence, but the Prisoners which were taken at *Gomphes*, and whom *Cesar* caused to be shewn to them, made them Wise by their Example, so they opened their *Gates* to *Cesar*, who took care, and protected them from violence; this Conduct of his brought back all the Towns of *Thessaly* to his Parry, except *Lerissa*, which *Scipio* had taken into his possession.

## CHAP. XLIV.

*Scipio joins his Troops with those of Pompey's, They post themselves in the Plains of Pharsalia. The approach of the two Armies. Pompey's uneasiness.*

**P**ompey arrived at *Thessaly* within a few days after the taking of *Gomphes*, and advanced near *Pharsalia*; whither *Scipio* went to join him with his two Legions. He was received by his Son-in-Law with a great deal of Magnificence; and *Pompey* being willing he should share in Command with him, ordered him a general Quarter, separate from his own, and according to the Roman Custome, the Trumpets came and sounded every morning at *Scipio's* Tent as well as *Pompey's*. *Cesar* was all this while giving Orders for the subsistence of his Army, and making Remarks upon the Inclinations of his Souldiers; Therefore so soon as he understood that they had forgotten their misfortune at *Durazzo*, caused them to advance as far as the Plains of *Pharsalia*, where *Pompey* was encamped. The approach of these two Armies, in which were all the chosen Roman Legions, whose Valour was to decide the Fate of that great Empire, the hatred and ambition of the Generals, animated by the Prize as well as the Glory, which must of necessity accrew to the Conquerour, and the little appearance there was of an  
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Accommodation, made it easily to be judged that nothing but a general Battel could be fit to determine that famous quarrel. Pompey's Party encouraged by the advantages they had gotten at *Durazzo*, doubted not of success. Every proceeding which did not seem to tend towards a Battel, was looked upon by them as an Obstacle to their returning into *Italy*, they say Pompey let himself be flattered too much in his Command. *Domitius* called him *Agamemnon*, insinuating, that he Commanded over Kings, and *Favonius* after his unthinking manner, told the other Senatours, that they must not expect that year again to eat the Figs of *Tusculum*. Besides, *Domitius*, *Scipio* and *Lentulus* were ready to fall out who should have the charge of *Pontifex*, which *Cesar* was then possessed of, all other Dignities were disposed of, a great many having sent already to *Rome* to take Houses near the Place, where the Magistrates were to be chosen, so to be lodged with more conveniency, for pursuing the charges they pretended to, and *Arrius Rufus* would have accused *Afranius*, for having (as he said) sold *Spain* to *Cesar*, which made *Afranius* say upon all occasions, *Why do not we go and find out that Merchant of Provinces*. In short, every one set his thoughts upon sharing the fruits of the Victory without considering how to gain it. But *Cesar* took another course, he endeavoured to encourage his Souldiers by little Combates, every day sending out Parties,  
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and exercised the young Men of his Legions to mingle themselves amongst their Cavalry, and contend for swiftness, even with the Horses; so though *Pompey* surpassed in the number of Cavalry, yet his being assisted by those light armed Foot, were not afraid of them, and in one Re-incounter they defeated a great number of them, and slew one of the *Savoyards* that had deserted. When *Caesar* understood that his Troops had recovered their wonted Courage, and were desirous to go upon the Enemy, he drew out of his Camp and offered *Pompey* Battel. That General had no design to come to blows, and thought to have wasted *Caesar's* Troops by Fatigue and want of Provision. He drew indeed out of his Camp, but kept himself always under his Trenches, at the Foot of the advanced ground where he was posted, *Caesar* could not attack him in that place without great disadvantage, so that he resolved the next day to decamp, to the end that by frequent motions he might weary out *Pompey's* Troops, who were not so hardened to toil as his. He caused all the Baggage to be loaded that night, the Tents were already pulled down, and a March was sounded through the Camp by break of day, when he received advice that *Pompey's* Army was in Battalia, far enough from his Trenches. Then *Caesar* caused all his Troops to halt, and with extreme joy told them *Let us defer our departure my Fellow Sould* *and think of fighting, it is that which*



*we have long most earnestly wished for, therefore let us not lose the opportunity our Enemies present us withall, perhaps they will not be always of this Opinion, and it may be hard for us to find them in so good humour another time. After this short discourse he drew up his Troops in order, and marched them towards the place of Battel.*

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## CHAP. XLV.

*Pompey forced to fight against his Opinion. His Discourse with Labienus. Some Presages.*

**P**ompey was not able longer to hold out against the insolencies and murmurings of his Officers, and in fine, they had so fully persuaded him to fight, that he promised them that he would defeat the Troops of Caesar, this was in the Council of War, where he was assisted by all the Senatours of his Party. *I am very sensible, said he, that the execution of my promise may appear something difficult, but ye will not longer doubt of it, when I shall have told you in what manner I intend to proceed. All my Horse have promised me that they will attack the Enemy upon the flanks, before they shall be able to discharge one Dart, so we shall carry the Victory without hazarding our Legions with the price of one wound, and as you know the advantage which the number and courage of our*  
Cavalry

*Cavalry* has over those of the *Enemy*; I believe there is no man here present can doubt of the success, but will boldly prepare himself to the *Battel* which is desired with so much earnestness, and I hope that ye will maintain the reputation of your *Valour* so famous over all the world. After this, *Labienus* said a great many things in contempt of *Caesar's Troops*, And to the Honour of *Pompey*, think not (said he) that these are the same *Souldiers* who conquered the *Gauls*, and vanquished the *Germans*, for I was present there, and speak nothing here whereof I am not well informed, there is hardly any of those old *Souldiers* remaining, many of them have perished in *Battel*. The *Diseases* of the last *Autumn* have destroyed a great many more, and the rest are gone to their homes. Those *Troops* which ye see at present, are but *Recruits* of some miserable *Peasants*, raised in the *Cisalpine Gaul*, the bravest whereof were slain at the last *Battel* of *Durazzo*. Afterwards *Labienus* took an *Oath* that he would never return into his *Camp* if he were not *Victour*, and exhorted the others to doe so too. Every one swore in his turn, this new kind of *Oath* re-doubled their hopes, and no less their joy, Because, says *Caesar*, they were persuaded that so great a *General* as *Labienus* was, would not swear to a thing which he had not been resolved to execute. In the mean time there hapned *Presages* that were not at all favourable to *Pompey*. The night before the *Battel*, he dreamed that he was at *Rome*, in a *Theatre* he had built, and that the people received him with great *Acclamations*,

mations, and went to adorn with Trophies the Temple of *Venus* the Victorious. This dream seemed to respect the glory of *Caesar*, who attributed the Original of his Family to *Venus*, at least *Plutarch* and some other Authors have so explained it. There was also seen a light like that of a Flambeau, which kindling it self over *Caesar's* Camp, came and fell upon *Pompey's*. And there happened at break of day one of those false Alarums which they call Panick fears, *Caesar* on the contrary had happy Omens, and the Diviner, who looked into the Entrails of the Sacrifices, told him two days before the Battel, that he foresaw a change in the present state of his Fortune, and that that change depended upon his Courage, and the Valour of his Troops.

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## CHAP. XLVI.

The year  
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world  
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the founda-  
tion of  
Rome 76,  
before the  
birth of  
our Savi-  
our 47.

*The order of the two Armies. The two Generals speak to their Soldiers to encourage them to the fight.*

**P**ompey's Army consisted of five and forty thousand Foot, and seven thousand Horse, being in all five Legions with the Spanish Cohorts which *Afranius* had raised after his defeat. These Cohorts, and those of the Legions were in number 112, seven whereof he left to guard his Camp; and all these Troops were upon three lines, every Legion making three Battalions, (*viz.*) The *Hastari*, the *Principes* and *Triarii*, the first Battalion seconding the second, and the second the third. The Battalions were each of them of sixteen hundred Men, drawn up in half Cohorts (that is to say) two hundred Men in rank, and eight Men in file. The Legions of *Syria* were in the middle, and *Scipio* Commanded them. The Spanish Cohorts and Legion of *Silicia*, whom *Pompey* principally relied on, were upon the Right under the Command of *Domitius Enobarbus*, *Pompey* put himself upon the left, where *Lentulus* Commanded with the two Legions that *Caesar* had restored in the beginning of the War. The other Cohorts were in the same order between the Legions of *Scipio* and the two Wings. The Auxiliary Troops, at least those who fought in order,

der, as the Greeks did, made the body of Reserve. For the others, *Pompey* had caused them to draw out without order upon the left, with his Archers, Slingers, and all his Cavalry, his Right being fortified with a River that was hard to pass. *Caesar* had onely 24 Cohorts, who made but twenty two thousand Men, reckoning the two Cohorts which he had left to guard his Camp. His Army was drawn up also upon three lines in the same order with *Pompey's*, the tenth Legion was upon the Right, and the ninth upon the Left, and because that that Legion was weak, the eighth was so near it, that they both seemed to make but one Body, with orders to second one another. The rest of the Cohorts being drawn up between these Legions, were in the Centre where *Domitius Calvinus* Commanded, *Sylla* having the right Wing, and *Antonius* the left, *Caesar* put himself at the head of the tenth Legion, whose Valour he had often experienced, and also to be opposite to *Pompey*, whose design was to fall upon the flanks of *Caesar's* Troops, who soon observed it by his order of Battel, so he drew six Cohorts out of all his Troops, whereof he composed a body of Reserve, he exactly instructed them in what they were to doe, and above all, gave them to understand that all the hopes of Victory depended upon their Valour; Moreover, he ordered his third line not to march, till they should receive a signal from him. In fine, his Cavalry to the



number of a thousand Horse, covered the right of the tenth Legion. The Armies being thus in sight of one another, the two Generals went from Rank to Rank encouraging their Souldiers. Pompey represented to his the Justice and Merit of the Cause they defended. The advantage of their number strengthened by the assistance of so many illustrious Senators, and the Victory of Durazzo. Caesar was contented onely to demonstrate, That he had endeavoured by all ways possible to obtain an honourable Peace, and if his Enemies had been willing, they might have spared the Republick the blood of so many brave Men. So seeing the impatience of his Souldiers to fall on, he gave the signal of Battel.

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## CHAP. XLVII.

*The Battel of Pharfalia. The fierceness of Craſtinus. The flight of Pompey, and overthrow of his Troops.*

**H**E had a Voluntier in his Army called *Craſtinus*, who the last year was eldest Brigadiere of the tenth Legion. This man coming up to *Cesar*, General, said he, *I intend this day to give you reason to speak well of me, whether I live or die.* And then calling to him the Souldiers he had Commanded, *Follow me*, he cryed, *this is the last occasion we shall ever have to acquit our selves of the duty we owe our General, and recover our Liberty.* After these words he advanced, and was followed with about twenty six Voluntiers, there was onely so much space between the two Armies as was just sufficient for the place of Battel; but *Pompey* had ordered his Men to remain firm at their Posts, which Conduct *Cesar* blamed him for, and we may depend upon his Opinion for it, and the reasons which he has given in his Commentaries. His Souldiers seeing that the Enemy would spare them no ground, behaved themselves like Men who very well understood their business, and of their own accord made a hault in the midst of their Carriere, and after having taken breath a little, ran on upon the Enemy, where they first discharged their Javelins, and then drew  
N 3 their

their Swords, as *Cesar* had given them orders. *Pompey's* Men received the Charge without the least disorder, and then made their discharge, and drew their Swords also, their word of Battel was, *Hercules the Invincible*, and *Cesar's*, *Venus the Victorious*. The Battel was cruel and bloody, as it could not be otherwise between so many brave Men, animated by their Glory and particular Interests, both sides had an Ambition either to Conquer the Enemy, or die upon the spot, without appearing the least disordered, either with the horrible noise of Arms, or the cries of the wounded and dying Men that fell on both sides. *Crastinus* with his little Troop routed the Rank that opposed him, and had charged into the middle of the Battalion where he was stopped, and born dead to the ground by a wound with a Sword, which pierced his head through the mouth, and came out at the nape of the neck, by this means the Victory became doubtfull in that place, when *Pompey* Commanded his Cavalry to go on. It consisted of the chiefest of the Roman Nobility, and the Allies all young handsome Men, and such as had great care of their Persons. At first they made *Cesar's* Men give ground, and had got upon the flank of his Army, when causing the six Cohorts to advance, which were his body of Reserve, he gave them order to march with their Pikes ported, and in that manner to charge upon the face of their Enemies. This contrivance disordered those

those young Men, and the fear of spoiling their faces, put them into confusion, so that *Caesar's* Cavalry rallying, charged upon them and brake them to pieces in a moment. They had not the courage to rally, but galloped full speed to the Neighbouring Mountains. All the Slingers and Archers being thus abandoned by the Cavalry, were cut to pieces, and *Caesar's* Men following their advantage, came and charged *Pompey's* Troops upon the naked flank. They had maintained the fight with a great deal of resolution, and though that Charge had disordered them, the Allies defended themselves on every side, when *Caesar* gave the signal for his third Line to advance, so those fresh Troops pouring in upon those of *Pompey*, who were wearied and attacked on every side, easily broke them. The flight began amongst the Strangers, who getting into their Camp, and securing what they well could carry away, fled full speed, though *Pompey's* right Wing still stood and kept their ground, but *Caesar's* causing a Cry to be given out, *Of kill the Strangers, but save the Romans*, was the reason that the Romans laid down their Arms, and demanded Quarter, which was given them accordingly. But there was a terrible slaughter amongst the Strangers. *Pompey* seeing himself, as he said afterwards, betrayed by the Cowardise of those Troops on whom he most depended, the moment that he saw his Cavalry routed, left the fight, and returned into his Camp, telling his Officers,

who were upon the Guard, *That they should take care to defend the Lines if any disgrace happened, and that he was going to give the same orders to all the rest.* So he retreated into his Tent, to attend what might happen. In the mean time *Caesar* seeing the Victory sure, cried out to his Souldiers, *That they ought to pursue the Victory, and take the Enemies Camp.* And though they were wearied out by the extreme heat and fatigue, for it was now high Noon; Nevertheless, when they saw their General marching on foot at the head of them, directly to *Pompey's* Trenches they followed him. The Cohorts that guarded the Camp, and the Auxiliary *Thracians* made a stout resistance. But at last being pressed on every side, they gave ground, and fled towards the Mountains which were hard by. *Pompey* upon this occasion shewed nothing that was either worthy of his Courage or Reputation, nor gave the least Order for his Defence, and when *Caesar's* Men were already in his Lines, *How, (says he) in my very Camp?* So getting on Horseback, he escaped through the Decumane Gate, and fled to *Larissa*, where he made not the least stay, but with the same diligence got to the Sea side, accompanied with thirty Horsemen, and Embarked himself on Board a Merchants Vessel. *Caesar* found almost through the whole Camp, Table Linen spread, and Cubboards covered with Plate, *Lentulus's* Tent amongst the rest was trimmed up with Ivy and other Boughs to keep off the heat,  
by



by which may be guessed, the confidence of those Men, who made such preparations for pleasure after a Victory, which they believed themselves sure of. *Caesar* begged of his Souldiers not to amuse themselves with the Plunder, but to complete the Victory; and by his Authority, and the respect which they bore him, he prevailed. So he immediately caused a Trench to be thrown up about the Mountain where the Enemy was Retreated, who, wanting Water, were forced to quit it, and March to *Larissa*. After this, he divided his Troops, sending one part of them to Guard *Pompey's* Camp, and the other into his own, Marching in Person with the Fourth Legion to cut off a passage from the Enemy. He drew up in Battalia Six thousand Paces from that place, which caused *Pompey's* Men to make a halt. They were upon a Hill which had a River at the foot of it; and *Caesar*, notwithstanding the weariness of his men, and that it was almost night, obliged them yet to cut off that Conveniency from the Enemy by a Trench. This last necessity forced them to a Capitulation, and some Senators made their escape in the dark. *Caesar* ordered all the Souldiers to come down into the Plain and lay down their Arms, which they obeyed, and falling upon their knees before him, begged for Pardon, which he granted them with all kindness imaginable, and commanded his Souldiers not to offer them any affront, nor Plunder their Baggage. After this he sent back the Troops that were with

with him, with orders for fresh ones to come up to him, with whom he Marched towards *Larissa*, where he arrived the same day. Thus it was that he knew how to make use of a Victory and manage his advantages. And though we have all these particulars from himself, considering they have not been hitherto contradicted, we ought not to call them in question; but rather consider, whether we ought most to admire his Conduct, his Courage, or his dispatch, or indeed the Obedience and the respect which his Troops shewed him. He lost in this Battel onely Two hundred Men, amongst whom indeed were Thirty of his best Officers. This little number could not but be very surprising, for on *Pompey's* side there were 15000 Men slain, and Four and twenty thousand who surrendered themselves to *Caesar*; who, when he perceived the Field covered with the Bodies of the dead, says he to *Pollio*. *They would have it so.* "Caesar, after all his great actions, must have been condemned, had not he been supported by the Valour of his Troops: there were Four and twenty Colours brought to him, and Nine Eagles. In short, a great many Officers of the Enemy's Army fell in this Battel, and amongst the rest *Domitius*, who was slain by some Horsemen as he fled towards the Mountain.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

*Some other Presages reported to Caesar.*

BESIDES those Presages which happened before this Battel, and seemed to promise a great Victory to *Caesar*, he has made a Report of some others equally as propitious. In a Temple of *Minerva* a Statue of Victory, which stood looking towards the Altar, turned it self towards the Door of the Temple the very day that *Pompey* was defeated. And at *Antioch* in *Syria*, upon the same day there were heard such terrible Cries, and so great a noise of Battel, that all the People ran in Arms up to the Ramparts: the same thing happened at *Ptolemaïs*; and at *Pergama* was heard a Noise of Trumpets, in the most secret place of the Temple, where none but the Priests had liberty to enter: and besides all this, at *Tralles*, in a Temple of Victory Consecrated to the Honour of *Caesar*, in few days there was seen a *Palmtree* growing up between the Joinings of the Stairs of the Pavement, which reached up to the Roof. *Caesar* stands engaged for the truth of these Miracles, since he himself reports them. What follows is taken out of *Titus Livius*, and confirmed by *Plutarch*. *Cassius Cornelius*, a very Learned *Augur*, was at *Padua* when this Battel happened, who observing there the Flight of Birds, by the great knowledge which he had acquired in that Art,

Art, understood so exactly the moment when it began; that he took notice of it to those that were with him, and told them precisely how long it would last: and after sitting down, and making some new observations, all of a sudden rose up, Crying out, *Cæsar, thou art Conquerour.* But, this surprising news of his not being received with that credit he desired, taking the Crown from his head, which the *Augures* always wear in the Ministry of their Function, Swore that he would never put it on again, till the truth of what he had said should be confirmed; which soon after happened.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. XLIX

Pompey puts to Sea, and takes in King Dejotarus, and goes to Amphipolis.

IN the meanwhile Pompey having left the Town of *Larissa*, dismiss all the Slaves of his Train, and went, by the Sea-side, through the pleasant Valley of *Tempe*, accompanied onely with a small number of his Friends, the two *Lentuluses's* were with him, and *Favonius*, who, either out of Respect, or Pity, rendered him all the Offices of an affectionate Servant, and did it so handsomly, that Pompey was forced to permit it, signifying his acknowledgments in a *Greek Verse*, the Sense whereof was, *That every thing became a generous Man*: In this condition, very far different from what he enjoyed the precedent day, when he was cover'd with Glory, a Commander of Kings, and all the greatness of *Rome*, he found himself reduced to seek for a retreat in a poor Fisher-man's Cabbin; where, having for some time repos'd himself, he went on board a small Barque, to try if he could reach *Amphipolis*; as he sail'd along by the Shore, his Friends espied a Merchant Ship commanded by *Petilius*. This *Petilius* was a Roman, of the order of the People, and knowing Pompey by sight onely, had Dream't, that he saw him in a mean condition, far beneath that Lustre with which he had heretofore appeared at *Rome*: as he was telling this Dream

to



to his Friends about him, news was brought him, that they discover'd a Barque Rowing towards the Vessel; that those who were in her seem'd in distress: upon this he came up above-Deck, from whence he discover'd and knew *Pompey*; so he order'd his Shallop to be hoisted out, and Rowed on Board him, where calling for the General, he gave him his hand to help him into the Boat, and all those who were with him; forbearing (for the respect he bore him) to enquire into the Misfortune which had reduced him to that extremity. They had now hoisted Sail to stand off from the Coast, when they discovered from the Sea-side King *Deiotarus*, with stretched-out hands making a sign to be taken in; they sent off the Barque, which brought him on Board the Ship, and then *Pompey* stood over for *Amphipolis*. In this place he consulted with his Friends what course he should take; the great confidence with which he relied on the number and valour of his Troops, and the over-positive hopes of Victory, had hindred him from thinking of any provision against the Misfortune he was now fallen into. For though he had been often sensible of the disgraces of Fortune, yet, as she had never surpris'd him so lulled in security as now, he had always found means to recover himself with advantage. But, upon this occasion, as he foresaw nothing in his mind but an assured Victory, his defeat was therefore the more intolerable, for that it left him naked, and disarmed of all relief. Moreo-

ver,

over, this was the reason of all the false steps he made at the latter end of this War, when he left the Sea-side to follow *Caesar* into *Thessaly*. And his Misfortune so far infatuated him, that he could not think of laying hold of those advantages which he yet had by Sea, where he had a powerfull and Victorious Army. *Laelius*, who Commanded one part of it, had besieged *Vatinius*, *Caesar's* Lieutenant, in the Port at *Brundisium*, and *Cassius*, in two Reincounters, had burnt above Forty of the Enemies Ships, in the narrow passage within the Port of *Messina*. But the astonishment *Pompey* was in, together with his evil destiny, hindered him from helping himself by the advantage he might have made of these Victories, if he had headed his Navy. For he stayed but one day at *Amphipolis*, where, to disguise his designs, he caused Orders to be published for all the Citizens of *Rome* and Youth of *Greece* to come to him. But when he heard that *Caesar* was upon his March, he stayed for no body, and Sailed towards *Lesbos*.

## CHAP. L.

*Pompey goes to meet his Wife at Lesbos: he resolves to retire into Egypt. Achilles, Photinus and Theodotus advised the King to put him to death. Pompey slain by a Roman called Septinius.*

**H**IS Wife *Cornelia* was at *Metylena*, the Capital City of that Island, with their youngest Children. *Pompey's* Letters, after the Battel of *Durazzo*, had given her great hopes, and she was daily expecting news of the total defeat of *Caesar*, when *Pompey* arriving in the Haven, sent one of his Friends to her. The sadness with which this Messenger approached her, and the Tears that fell from him, soon made *Cornelia* apprehend the misfortune that had happened. She fell down dead upon the floor, and remained a long time insensible; but at last coming to her self, and being told that *Pompey* stayed for her at the Port alone, in a poor Vessel which he had borrowed, she ran on foot to the place where *Pompey* came to imbrace her: and that Meeting had something in it more sad and touching, than can well be expressed. She accused her self of being the only cause of her Husband's Misfortunes; complaining of the ill destiny which Allied her to *Crassus* first, and afterwards to *Pompey*, onely to bring about the Ruine of two so Illustrious Families. *Pompey* endeavoured all he

he was able to forget his own grief, and alleviate that of *Cornelia*; and at last, more by his tenderness, than any reasons he was able to urge, with much ado appeased her. But afterwards could not forbear complaining against the Gods, and their Providence, to *Cratippus* a famous Philosopher, who was then at *Metilena*. The Pride of Man having always the property to use God Insolently, even at the time when they find themselves forced to be humble towards their fellow Creatures. In fine, *Pompey* carried away *Cornelia*, and went with some Vessels that came to join him into *Cilicia*, from whence he returned to the Island of *Cyprus*; there he learnt the news, that the Cities of *Antioch* and *Rhodes* had declared against him. This made him resolve, after many deliberations, to retire into *Agypt*, where *Ptolemy* then Reigned, the Son of that other *Ptolemy*, whom he had caused to be restored to his Kingdom by *Gabinus*, which made him prefer this Countrey above any other else which could be proposed for his Retreat. This King was very young, and absolutely governed by *Achillas*; who Commanded his Army; *Plotinus* the first Gentleman of his Bedchamber, and *Theodorus* his Tutor: he was then at *Pelusium*; with an Army which he was leading against his Sister *Cleopatra*, whom these Ministers had driven from the Court. *Pompey* sent some of his Friends to the King to desire Succours, and a

Retreat

Retreat within his Countrey: which demand much perplexing him, he referred the matter to his Council; and which means the fate of *Pompey* the great came to be in the hands of these three miserable Fellows: *Photinus* and *Archillas* were of different opinions, the one was for sending of him back, and the other for entertaining of him; when *Theodorus*, to shew his Eloquence, Remonstrated, That neither of those opinions was according to the Rules of true Policy: that by following the last, they should make *Pompey* their Master, and *Cesar* their Enemy; and by the first offend them both. *Pompey*, for being sent away; and *Cesar*, for letting of him escape: therefore That they ought to Invite him to shore, and kill him: being sure, by that means, to obtain *Cesar's* Friendship, and never hereafter be afraid of *Pompey*. Concluding with that Maxim, which is since grown into a Proverb, That a dead Lion never bites. According to this Resolution, they sent *Achillas*, accompanied by *Septimius*, who was then Tribune, and had been a Centurion under *Pompey*, *Salvius* another Roman, and three or four Souldiers, they went into a Barque which carried them to the Ship where *Pompey* was, with his Wife and all his Friends; this manner of reception appeared a very ill Omen, especially to *Cornelia*, who could not refrain from weeping: but when he saw that the King's Ships had already weighed Anchor, and were coming to surround his, and that *Septimius* saluted him with the Title of General,



General; he resolved to put the best face he could upon a thing which was no longer in his power to refuse; So giving his hand to *Achillas*, who had also saluted him in Greek, he turned towards his Wife and Children, repeating two Greek Verses, which signify'd, *That he who enters into the house of a Tyrant, becomes a Slave; though he came thither Free:* Two of his Captains, entred the Barque before him with *Philip* and *Scyros*, the one his Freedman, and the other his Slave, as they were a considerable time in passing from the Vessel to the Shore, and observing that no body offered any Discourse, *Pompey* addressing himself to *Septimius*, who (according to the Roman Discipline, which did not permit any under Officers to sit down in the presence of their General) stood up; told him, *That he believed he might heretofore have known him.* *Septimius* onely answered him by bowing his head, which was the reason that he drew out his Tablets to consider the Speech which he designed to make to *Protemy*. In the meanwhile the Barque coming near the Shore, a great many *Aegyptian* Souldiers came running towards it, and as *Pompey* gave his hand to *Philip*, to raise himself up, *Septimius*, from behind him, run him through the Body with his Sword; he fell with the Wound; and seeing that *Achillas* and *Salvius* came at him with their Swords drawn, he cover'd his Face with his Mantle, and without shewing any mark of fear, freely offered himself to the Death they brought him.

At this terrible Spectacle, all those who were on Board *Pompey's* Ships made a hideous out-cry; but seeing the *Egyptian* Gallies advancing towards them, the care of their safety made them give over their pity, and save themselves with all the sail they could make, under a fair Wind, which opportunely freshened upon them that minute. Such was the end of *Pompey* the Great, who, after having escaped so many dangers, where he might have fallen with honour, came at last to lose his life miserably by the hands of three or four Villains, who were soon after punished for their Crime by *Caesar*. He died at the Age of Nine and fifty years, and upon the Eve of his Birth-day.

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## CHAP. LL

Philip, Pompey's Freed-man, pays him his last Rites of Funeral. The Misfortune of Lentulus.

AFTERWARDS cutting off his Head, they left the Body upon the Shore, exposed for some time to the curiosity of the *Aegyptian* Souldiers; and, at last, Philip, his Freed-man, carried it aside, where he washed it in the Sea, and wrapped it in his Mantle; as he was gathering together some pieces of a broken Boat to make a Pile, he was surprised by an old *Roman*, who had settled in *Aegypt*, but had served heretofore under Pompey; Who art thou, said he to Philip, that art making these preparations for the Funeral of the Great Pompey? Philip answered him, That he was one of his Freed-men: Ah, reply'd the old Man, thou shalt not have all this Honour to thy self, but suffer me, I beg thee, to partake in an action that is so just and Sacred; to the end that among all the discomforts of my exile, I may please my self, to think, I have had the honour to touch the Body, and assist the Funeral of the greatest Souldier Rome ever had. So they gave him the last Rites; the sadness of which Ceremony was very particular; *Lentulus* who was coming from *Cyprus*, without knowing of Pompey's Misfortune, passed by that place in a Shallop, who seeing the Fire, began to be very curious about the matter, and caused

his Shallop to put in, that he might speak with *Philip*, whom he did not know in that condition: after some sad reflexions, *Who is the unhappy Wretch, says he, that is come in that place to finish his destiny;* adding with a Sigh, *Alas, is it not Pompey the Great?* When he came ashore, he was given to understand by the Freed-man, that his apprehensions were but too true. So his grief staying him too long upon the place, he was taken by some *Aegyptian* Souldiers and carried to the King, who put him to death in Prison. *Cesar* afterwards caused a magnificent Sepulchre to be built on this place, with a Temple which he called, *The Temple of Wrath*; and it's very likely that it is the same place which Travellers to this day call *Pompey's Pillar*.

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## CHAP. LII.

*Cæsar pursues his Victory. Cassius surrenders himself to him with all his Fleet. Cæsar lands in Egypt. The Insolence of Photinus and Achillas.*

IN the mean while *Cæsar*, who knew that all the hopes of his Enemies were wrapped up in the Person of *Pompey*, followed him with his usual diligence at the head of his Cavalry, having given orders to one of his Legions to March after him; when he understood at *Amphipolis* that *Pompey* had abandoned *Greece*, he resolved to go into *Asia*, and wanting Ships, put what Troops he had in Barques; and now it seemed as if Fortune was resolved to take this occasion, to shew still that she would have a share in his elevation. *Cassius* retreating into *Asia* with a Navy of 60 Ships, fell in amongst *Cæsar's* little Fleet. And that Man who had since the courage to Murther him in the very midst of *Rome*, could not have wished for a fairer occasion than now to kill him with honour: For *Cæsar* was not in any condition to make resistance. In the meanwhile he walked upon the Deck of his Ship with the Aire of a Conquerour; and that resolute behaviour so over-awed *Cassius* (who was otherwise a very brave Man) that he went aboard his Shallop, and came to throw himself at *Cæsar's* feet; he surrendered into his hands all the

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Ships



Ships under his Command, demanding no other favour than his Life, with all the submission of a Conquer'd Enemy : *Cesar* granted it in his usual obliging manner, and then went into *Asia*, where, after having dispatched some orders, and prevented the ruine of the famous Temple of *Diana* of the *Ephesians*, whose Treasures *Amphius* would have plundered in the name of *Pompey*, he understood he was retreated into the Island of *Cyprus*, not in the least imagining that he could have a design of going into *Agypt*. Therefore that he might give him no time to Fortifie himself, he went to *Rhodes*, where he Embark'd with two Legions, which were reduc'd to 3200 Men, and 800 Horse. And though those Forces were not very considerable, yet the confidence which he had in his Victories, and the high reputation they had gotten him, could not persuade him, but that wherever he came he must meet with awe and obedience. So he went directly to *Alexandria* without staying for the rest of his Troops, to whom he sent orders immediately to follow him; upon his Landing, he was entertained with the News of the Death of *Pompey*, whose Head was presented him, and the Ring, which, according to the custome of the Age, he was wont to make use of for a Signet. This Mournfull Spectacle, the Friendship which he heretofore had had with *Pompey*, and the sad Imagination of those Misfortunes, which attend the greatest Men, drew Tears from his eyes; So he turned away

away his Face with horreur, and ordered him who brought him the Present, to retire, keeping onely the Ring, upon the stone whereof was ingraved a Lion holding a Sword in his Paw. Afterwards he made his entry into the City as Consul. The Souldiers who were there in Garrison were offended, for that he caused the Axes to be carried before him, and said, *That it was done in Contempt of the Royal Authority*, which was the occasion that for some days together several disorders happened, in which a great many Roman Souldiers were slain. This forced *Caesar* to send new Orders to his Troops to come and join him with all speed, with fair Promises and Presents, gaining to his side a great many of *Pompey's* Souldiers, who were then wandring about that Kingdom, and wrote word to his Friends at *Rome*, *That the greatest pleasure which he found from his Victory, was the saving every day the life of some one of those who had born Arms against him.* In the mean while as an argument of his Confidence, he made great entertainments, and assisted at the Conferences of Philosophers, who were in great numbers within that City. But *Photinus*, who was come to *Alexandria* with the King, gave him every day fresh marks of his unto-ward intentions, he had written to *Achillas*, who Commanded the Army to come to *Alexandria*, and those Succours made him insolent, for he caused musty Corn to be distributed to *Caesar's* Souldiers, and one day  
when

when *Ptolemy* treated him in his Palace, he caused him to be served in earthen Vessels, saying, *That the Gold and Silver Plate was engaged for the payment of the King's debts.* This was because *Ptolemy* owed *Cesar* a Million seven hundred and fifty thousand Crowns, the seven hundred and fifty thousand *Cesar* abated in favour of his Children, but demanded the remaining Million for the necessity of his present affairs, and when *Photinus* told him, *That he would doe better to think of other matters that were of greater consequence.* *Cesar* answered him, *He was not come into Ægypt to ask Counsel.* In fine, the influence of that Eunuch which provoked him upon all occasions, and it may be also the reputation of the admirable beauty of *Cleopatra*, caused him to declare, *That being the first Magistrate of Rome, he was resolved to enquire into the difference between the King and his Sister.* For *Ptolemy* the Father had by his last Will named for his Heirs the eldest of his two Daughters having conjured the people of Rome by the Gods, and by the Alliance that was between them to see his will put in execution, a Copy whereof he had sent to Rome, and it was upon this foundation that *Cesar* proceeded. But while this matter was in dispute, *Achillas* came to *Alexandria* at the head of his Army. These Troops were very formidable both for their number and for their valour, they were composed in part of *Gabinus* his old Soldiers, who were most of them married in  
Egypt,

*Ægypt*, and had taken upon them the Customs and Discipline of the *Ægyptians*. The other part was made up of such men as had been disbanded in *Syria* and *cilicia*, and the other Neighbouring Provinces, and the rest were banished men, and run-away slaves, who were sure of a safe retreat in *Alexandria*, and if they took party in the Troops, a certain protection from the other Soldiers, who frequently rescued them by force of Arms from their Masters that pursued them. These Troops by a horrible Licence, (but what was ordinary amongst those sort of people,) had usurped a privilege of demanding the head of any of the King's Ministers when ever they thought fitting, and plunder the richest of their Goods under pretence of augmenting their pay, and also to depose and set up their Kings. There were here at this time 2000 old Cavalry exercised in all the Wars of *Alexandria*, and these were the men who had restored *Ptolemy* to his Throne, who had slain the two Sons of *Bibulus*, and for a long time had made War upon the *Ægyptians*.

## CHAP. LIII.

*Cæsar fortifies himself in Alexandria. He is attacked by Achilles. He seizes upon Pharos. Falls in love with Cleopatra. He is besieged by the Egyptians.*

**C**æsar knowing well the valour and experience of these Troops, and finding himself not strong enough to make head against them in the Field, took care to fortify those Quarters of the City where his Legions were, and to secure himself of the King's Person, in whose name he deputed to the Army *Dioscorides* and *Serapion*, who were the two principal Friends of the old *Ptolemy*, and who had been Ambassadors at *Rome*. But *Achillas*, instead of giving them Audience, charged upon them in such manner, that one of them was killed upon the place, and the other saved his life by feigning to be dead. After this act of violence, *Cæsar* caused the Quarters of *Alexandria* to be fortified, where his Troops were retreated, and was the next day attacked by *Achillas*, *Cæsar's* Souldiers sustained the first onset, and repulsed the Enemy, whose chief design was to get possession of the 50 Ships and 22 Gallies that were in the Haven, which obliged *Cæsar* after a long and doubtfull fight to possess himself of *Pharos*, and set fire to those Vessels, whose flames being driven by the wind upon some Houses near the Port burnt,



burnt them to the ground by a misfortune, in which we can never enough lament that famous Library belonging to the Kings of *Egypt*, consisting as some Authours report, of 700000 Volumes. The *Pharos* is a Tower built in the Island, which makes the Haven of *Alexandria*, and it was built with so much Art and Magnificence, that it has ever been lookt upon for one of the seven Wonders of the World. There was moreover in the Island several Houses and other Edifices, being joined to the Continent by a Bridge at the end of a Peer that was very narrow, and in length 800 paces, the taking of this Post made *Cesar* Master by Sea, but he was very close shut up towards the land by the Troops of *Achillas*, the People also of *Alexandria* were against him, and without any respect to the Person of their Prince had several times attacked the Palace where they were lodged together. But *Ptolemy* encouraged to it by *Cesar*, appeased their tumult by his Presence. *Cesar* that he might not have any longer an Enemy to fear, but those who were without, got himself at last rid of *Photinus*, and had sent for *Cleopatra*, who he said he would marry to her Brother, according to the *Egyptian* Custome, and the intent of their Fathers Will. The Eunuch was killed going from an entertainment at the King's Lodgings under pretence that he would have taken away the young *Ptolemy*, and carried him into the *Egyptian* Camp, which was not without some ground, for *Ganymede* the other

other Eunuch had taken away *Arſinoe*, the youngest of *Ptolemy's* Sisters, causing her to be acknowledged for Queen, and it was in her name that *Achillas* made War against *Cesar*. But that enterprize which at first perplext him, turned in the consequence to his advantage. *Ganymede* could not longer bear the reputation which *Achillas* had gotten amongst the Troops, so he caused him to be slain, and made himself be declared General of the Army. In the mean time *Cleopatra* came to *Cesar* with a great deal of danger, out of which her own Wisdom and good management happily delivered her, she embarked her self in a Shallop onely with *Apollodorus* one of her Domesticks, and arriving that night under the Castle of *Alexandria*, that man binding her up in a Packet of those necessaries which he brought along with him, took her upon his back, and by that means deceiving the *Egyptian* Guard, carried her to *Cesar*. It is said that that mark which she then gave of her Wit, contributed much to the growth of a passion, which he afterwards entertained for that Princess, or at least it is *Plutarch's* Opinion. But to say the truth, the Slave may be reasonably supposed to have had the best part in that Contrivance. On the other side *Cesar* was too sensible of the Charms of Beauty, not to be touched with those of *Cleopatra*. She was then in the Prime of her Youth, and one of those sprightly *Grecian* Beauties, where every feature has its particular

cular Charm. All which was seconded by an admirable Wit, and a Voice so soft and bewitching, that that perfection onely without the help of her Eyes (for she had the finest in the World) inflav'd the hearts of every one that heard her, nor could *Cesar* refuse her his, since he had not been able to defend it before against a certain Moorish Queen, so he became passionately in love, and declared himself at first sight for the interests of that Princess. *Ptolemy* quickly found that *Cesar*, who was to be Judge between him and his Sister, was become of her Party, and that that change was the work of love, the uneasiness which he shewed for it to the People, made them again revolt; but *Cesar* soon quell'd it, and as the Roman Consul and Tutor to the young Princess, in a General Assembly read the Will of *Ptolemy* their Father, and promised to put it in execution. At this time *Ganymede* to signalise himself in his new Employment, undertook a great and difficult work, but from the success of it we ought to determine the War on his side. The City of *Alexandria*, to express it properly, was built upon a void or empty space, for such were the many Caves or Cisterns made on purpose to receive the Waters of the *Nile*, which were excellent to drink when they were once settled and purged from the slime which that River carried in its Chancel, and which occasioned many Diseases amongst the People when ever they were forced by necessity to drink it as they

*Aunee*, the wife of *Bagud*, one of the Kings of *Mauritania*.

they drew it out of the River. *Ganymede* was wholly Master of the *Nile*, which ran through that part of the City which the *Egyptians* were possessed of, so he caused all the Cannals to be stopt up which carried the Water to that side where he was Master; and then by Wheels and other Engines, he caused a great quantity of Sea Water to be taken up, which he put into the Cannals, from whence *Cesar's* Quarters used to be supplied with fresh Waters, immediately the chief Cisterns were corrupted with that salt Water, which caused a great astonishment amongst *Cesar's* advanced Guards, when they compared the taste of the Water which they drank with that in the Cisterns, which were not so near the Enemy, but at last these also became salt like the others, and that accident had almost made them desperate. They murmured amongst themselves, and accused *Cesar's* obstinacy, for thinking that he was able to fight at once both with Men and Elements. But he assured them by his Discourse and his Authority, and caused Wells to be digged all along the Sea side, whereof he was Master, and where he found sufficient stores of fresh Water:

## CHAP. LIV.

*Cæsar receives succours. A Sea fight. A disorder amongst Cæsar's Troops, upon the Peer. He saves himself by swimming. He restores the Egyptians their King, who declares War against him.*

IN the mean time the four and twentieth Legion was arrived for his relief, and came to have landed near *Alexandria*. *Cæsar* went out with all his Ships to meet them, and in his return was set upon by the *Ægyptian Fleet*, but seconded by the Ships of *Rhodes*, easily put them to the rout, taking one of the Enemies Vessels, sinking another, and killing a great many of their Men, so that had not the night come on too fast, he must have been Master of their whole Fleet. *Ganymede* did all that he was able to take away the Terrour which this ill success had raised amongst them, and put to Sea again another stronger Fleet, with which he came to attack *Cæsar*. The fight was very fierce, but the Valour and Experience of *Euphrator*, who Commanded the Ships of *Rhodes*, turned all to the advantage of the Romans, who took two *Ægyptian Gallies*, and sunk three, the rest saved themselves under the Peer of *Pharos*, *Cæsar* being onely Master of the Tower, which was the reason that at one and the same time he made an Attack upon the Island, and the Peer with ten Co-

P

horts



horts of light armed Foot, and the Gallick Cavalry, which he had chosen out of all his Troops. The Attack succeeding, the Island and the Peer were taken, and the Ægyptians driven beyond the Bridge, *Cesar* immediately caused it to be fortified, and with stones stopped up the passage under the Bridge, that none of the Enemies Barks might go through. As they were busie at this work, the Enemy came from the Cityward with Barks and Shallops to attack the head of the Bridge, and the sides of the Peer. *Cesar* was upon the Peer in Person to encourage his Souldiers, when a great number of the Mariners and Seamen belonging to his Vessels, came thither without any order, partly out of Curiosity, and partly out of the desire they had to come to a Battel. At first they behaved themselves well enough with throwing stones, and with their slings. But the Ægyptians taking notice of the disorder they were in, resolved to come down and attack them; upon this, these Men ran again on Board their Vessels as unseasonably as they had left them. Their flight raised the Courage of the Ægyptians, who pursued them with great Cries, and which so terrified the Romans that defended the Bridge, and who believing they were surrounded by their Enemies, thought of nothing but of saving themselves in their Vessels. The confusion was great, and in this Rout the Enemy killed at least four hundred Legionaries. *Cesar* after having tried all his endeavours

deavours to prevent the running away of his Men, was at last forced to go on board his Ship, but as he perceived the number of those that followed him, and the danger that might thence arise, he put himself to swimming, but with so great presence of mind, that he lost not one of those Papers which he all the while held out of the Water with one hand, to preserve them from wetting, nor his Coat Armour, which he carried in his Teeth. So swimming about two hundred paces to his Ships, he sent out Shallops and Barks to the relief of his People, some of them were saved, but his own Vessel as he had foreseen, was sunk by the number of those who were in her, and who all perished. This Disgrace instead of abating their Courage, served onely to provoke Caesar's Souldiers, which appeared whenever they came upon Duty for the raising of the Works, and forced the Egyptians to have recourse to Artifices. They sent Deputies to Caesar to demand of him their King, saying, *That they were weary of being Commanded by a Girl, and the Tyranny of Ganymede, and that they were willing to make Peace with the Romans under the Authority of their lawfull Prince.* Ptolemy on the other side perfectly instructed in the arts of Dissimulation, no less by his own Genus, than the Lessons which were given him by his Governours, with tears in his Eyes begged of him to keep him with him, saying, *That the presence of Caesar did more Charm him than his King-*

dom. *Cæsar* was not ignorant of the perfidiousness of these People, but he believed he ought in generosity to give them their Prince, to the end he might either gain upon them by that favour, or at least fight with more Honour against a King, so he restored him to his Army, where he was no sooner arrived, but he renewed the War with so much earnestness, that it seems (says *Hirtius*) the tears which he shed when he left *Cæsar*, were tears of joy. In the mean time *Cæsar*'s Friends were upon their march through *Syria* to his relief, and the *Ægyptians*, who were advised of it before him, sought all occasions to hinder the Convoys from coming to him by Sea, which was the occasion of another Sea Battel, where the brave *Euphranor* perished with his Vessel, they being too far advanced, nor well followed. But the *Ægyptians* enjoyed not this advantage long, for *Mithridates* of *Pergama*, who was very considerable for the greatness of his Birth and his Authority, and of great Reputation in War in *Cilicia* and *Syria*, had raised an Army for *Cæsar*'s Service, who came with these Troops to attack *Pelusium*, which he took by storm. That City was the Key of *Egypt* by Land as the *Pharos* was towards the Sea. From thence *Mithridates* advanced towards *Alexandria* for the relief of *Cæsar*, which forced *Ptolemy* to divide his Troops to defend the passage of the *Nile*. That River as it comes near the Sea, separates it self into many Branches, whereof the two most considerable

siderable leave a large space of Land between them, forming as it were an Island which the Ægyptians call *Delta*, for the resemblance of its Figure to that Greek Letter. Δ.

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CHAP. LV.

*Mithridates defeats the Ægyptians. He joins himself with Cæsar, who attacks Ptolemy's Camp. The Ægyptians routed. Their King is drowned. Cæsar establishes Cleopatra Queen of Ægypt with her Brother.*

**M***ithridates* who very well understood the Roman Discipline, received the first on-set of the Ægyptians in his Trenches, and when he saw them in disorder, sallied, and killed a great number of them before they could get to their Vessels which were upon the *Nile*. *Cæsar* and *Ptolemy* were both advised of what had happened much about the same time, and immediately began their march, one to join himself with *Mithridates*, and the other to hinder him. The King went in his Ships along the *Nile*, and *Cæsar* to avoid a Sea fight in the Chanel of the River, went and made his descent above the mouth of the River, towards the Coast of *Asia*, and with his usual diligence came to join *Mithridates*, without being the least

incommoded by the King. By this means matters were reduced to the hazard of a Battle. *Ptolemy* was advantageously incamped in a Post which had the River *Nile* on one side, behind him a Precipice, and on the other side a Moor or Marshy ground. There was a River or Canal between the *Ægyptian* Camp and *Cæsar's* Army. The King commanded all his Cavalry, and a detachment of chosen foot to defend that passage, the Banks whereof were very high. The Romans were several times repulsed, at last the shame to see the *Ægyptians* so long maintain the fight against them, obliged *Cæsar's* Gallick Horse to enter the Channel in several places, they opening themselves a passage, while the Legionaries got over upon great Trees, which they had cut for that purpose, which bold undertaking confounded the *Ægyptians*, who with some loss made their retreat to the Kings Camp. The next day *Cæsar* causing all his Troops to pass over, made an attack upon their Camp along the Banks of *Nilus*, which being the easiest place for that purpose, was the reason that the *Ægyptians* had drawn thither their best Troops, and neglected the other part which they thought inaccessible. This *Cæsar* quickly understood by the stout resistance which he here met withal, he therefore drew out some Cohorts under the Command of *Carfulenus*, one of his ancientest and best Officers to attack their Camp, where the Fortification was steepest. They there found little resistance, by reason  
that



that on-set was so contrary to expectation. By this means they entred, and put the whole Egyptian Camp into disorder. Immediately every one thought of nothing but his own safety, and in this confusion the King himself getting on Board a Vessel, was drowned with all those that followed him, and who by their numbers sunk the Ship. After this Victory there was nothing found in *Egypt* able to resist *Cesar*. The City of *Alexandria* was the first that submitted, so he made his entry as Conquerour, and pardoned the Citizens in favour of *Cleopatra*, whom he established Queen with her younger Brother *Ptolemy*, according to the intent of their Father's Will, driving out *Arfinoe* and *Ganymede*. The following days he dedicated to the love which he had for that Princess, and the rejoycings for his Victory. Some Authours report that he went up the *Nile* with her in a Magnificent Galley, and that he had gone as far as *Ethiopia*, if his Army had not refused to follow him. At last he left her with Child of a Son who was afterwards called *Cesarion*, and departed from *Egypt* to go into *Syria* with his sixth Legion against *Pharnaces* the Son of *Mithridates*, the others being left in *Egypt* by his order to hinder the revolt of that new Conquest.

## CHAP. LVI.

*Cato retires into Africa, and Cicero into Italy, where Cæsar Pardons him. Pompey's Sons go into Spain; Cato joins himself with Scipio and Juba. Some broils at Rome.*

THE Death of Pompey was so far from bringing this War to an end, that it served onely to diffuse it almost over all the parts of the World. Cato was at *Durazzo* during the Battel at *Pharsalia*, where he Commanded a Powerfull Fleet: From thence he went into the Island of *Corfira*, meeting there with Cicero who had not been at the Battel, and many other Senatours, who had escaped thither from it, amongst whom was the Eldest Son of Pompey. Cato, who always was for governing himself according to the prescription of the Law, offered the Command of the Army to Cicero, who had been Consul; who, not thinking himself fit for such a Charge, refused it; which provoked this Pompey's Son, and all the young Men of his Party against him. They called him Traitor, and drew their Swords upon him; So that had not Cato's Authority interposed and appeased him, they had certainly slain him: he escaped in a terrible fright to *Brundisum*, from whence he Wrote to *Oppius* and *Balbus*, who were with Cæsar, to excuse the choice he had made of an unfortunate Party: and though his Brother *Quintus*, by some provocation, whereof

whereof he complains in many of his Letters, without mentioning the Cause, had accused him to *Caesar*; and though *Quintus* his Son had done him very ill offices, nevertheless *Caesar* pardoned him, and treated him very kindly in his return to *Italy*. The others took different Parties, and *Cato* retreated into *Africa*, where he expected to meet with *Pompey*, whose eldest Son he sent into *Spain*. *Cassius Longinus*, whom *Caesar* had left there, was very much embroiled with those People, and with his Souldiers themselves, whom he had used so ill, that he was wounded as he sat in his Tribunal. This affair had very great consequences, and *Marcellus*, though *Caesar's* Friend, had declared himself against *Longinus*, and made War upon him, when *Lepidus* arrived on *Caesar's* part, to inquire into the cause of their Division. *Longinus* refused to obey: But as he retreated by Sea, with what Booty he had got together in his Government, he perished in the Mouth of the *Ebre*. These Divisions gave time to young *Pompey* to practise upon those People, and many of the *Roman* Souldiers, who still retained a great veneration for the Name of his Father, and to gather together some time afterwards a considerable Army. When *Scipio* had joined himself in *Africa* with King *Juba* and *Attius Varus*, and by that means enabled himself to renew a dangerous War in that Province, being assisted by Ten thousand Men which *Cato* brought him. The youngest of *Pompey's* Children had met him

him upon the Coasts of *Africa*, where he understood from *Cato* the death of his Father ; which obliged him to go and cast Anchor at *Cyrena*, where he passed the Winter ; from thence he went forward to the Desarts of *Lybia*, after having furnished himself with Provisions and Water, and especially of those sort of Men, who, by sucking, cure the Wounds made by the bites of Serpents, who very much abound in these Desarts, and who have also the art of Charming them. It was in this seven days journey that the Constancy of *Cato* ought much to be admired, for he Marched always on foot the foremost at the head of his Troops ; always drinking the last, nor that neither, till all the rest of his Army had undergon the extremest Thirst, and were running to quench it at the Wells which they found in those Desarts. At last he arrived at *Scipio* and *Juba's* Camp. But the Insolence of that King of the Barbarians grew soon disgustfull to him, and caused him to retire into the City of *Utica*, after having left his Troops with *Scipio*, who, with those of *Juba*, formed them into a Body very formidable to *Caesar* ; who besides had received advice, that his Affairs were extremely intangled at *Rome*, whither he had sent *Anthony* in quality of the General of the Cavalry. This was the second Dignity next to that of Dictatour, and in *Caesar's* absence gave *Antonius* absolute Command of the Republick. *Dolabella* was then Tribune of the People, and *Antonius's* Friend,  
and

and in *Caesar's* Interest; he had conceived a Project in his head to cause all the ancient Contracts to be broken, that so he might be called upon at *Rome* to make new Tables; and *Antonius* at the first assisted his design, but entertaining some suspicion that *Dolabella* had gotten too familiar an acquaintance with his Wife, he turned her away, and joined himself with some of the Senatours, who were for opposing the Tribune. As they were both fierce young Men, and of great Quality, this Division of theirs had very ill consequences, they came in Arms to the Publick Place, where, after a great Combat, *Dolabella* was put to flight.

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## CHAP.



## CHAP. LVII.

Cæsar goes into Asia.

THIS news extremely troubled *Cæsar*, who was afraid lest these Divisions might at last ruine his Party, and that the Insolence of his Officers might render him yet more Odious to the Romans. He knew, besides, that the Souldiers which he had sent into *Italy*, had thrown off all manner of Military Discipline, and that his presence onely could be of force to bring them back to their duty. So he resolved to take a Journey into *Asia* for the establishing of Peace in those Provinces, and then go to *Rome*. *Syria* being in Peace, he left there *Sextus Cæsar* his Kinsman with one Legion, and afterwards embarked himself to go into *Cilicia*, where landing, he advanced by great Marches as far as \* *Galatia*. There *Dejotarns* the † Tetrarch of that Province, called King of *Armenia* by the Senate, came to find him out, and excuse himself for having followed *Pompey's* Party; *Cæsar* received him with a great deal of Humanity, and after having something reproached him with the good Offices which he had heretofore done him at *Rome*, he caused *Dejotarns* to take again those marks of Royalty which he had quitted, and join the Troops of that King with his own. From thence he marched against *Pharnaces*, who had possessed himself of

\* A Province of the lesser Asia.  
 † This was a Title which was given to those Princes who were not really Kings, though they exercised Sovereign Authority.

Cap.

Cappadocia, and the lesser Armenia, under Dejotarus, and who had defeated Dominus Calvinus one of his Lieutenants. This Prince, who knew what necessity of Affairs called Caesar to Rome, fought onely to gain time, and to that purpose sent Ambassadors to Caesar, They besought him not to treat their King as an Enemy for the sake of Dejotarus, who had sent Troops to Pompey, since Pharnaces had never assisted him neither with Men nor Money, that at least he would be as favourable to him as he had been to that Prince, whom he had pardoned, but that nevertheless in what manner soever it should be his fortune to be treated, he should always observe his Orders. Caesar answered, That that would be the best way of shewing himself a Friend, That what he said of Dejotarus, had no relation to the affairs in hand, since all the world knew that he received not less joy in pardoning those many particular injuries which were done to himself, than in revenging such as had been offered to the Republick. This was because Pharnaces, pufft up with his Victory, had treated the Roman Citizens which were in his Provinces with great Cruelty, putting the men to death, and castrating the Boys. Caesar added moreover, That he ought to quit Pontus, and restore their Goods again to the Romans; after which he might accept perhaps of his Present, being a Crown of Gold, which he had refused. Pharnaces having received this answer, desired time for the satisfying of these demands. But Caesar seeing through his Artifices, resolved to get nearer to him, by that

that means either to bring him to Obedience, or give him Battel: He had with him onely four Legions, one of old Troops, by their fatigues and marches reduced to a little more than a thousand men, one belonging to *Dejotarus*, and two of those which had been beaten under *Domitius*. With these Forces he advanced as far as *Ziela*, a City of *Pomus*, near to which *Mithridates* had heretofore got the better of the Romans. This seemed a favourable Omen to *Pharnates*, who was the Son of that King. Therefore as *Caesar* was causing a Hill to be fortified about 1000 paces from the Enemies Camp, this Prince despising the small number of the Romans, and the Troops which he had once beaten, quitted his Trenches, and came to attack them; when *Caesar* seeing him in the Valley, which separated the two Camps, where his Battalions were one above another, because the place was narrow, and where, says he, no man of common sense would ever have engaged himself, he despised his want of Experience, but when at the same time he saw him coming up the Hill, where he was posted, admiring his Courage, or indeed rather his Rashness, he gave the signal of Battel. This surprizal caused at first some disorder amongst the Romans, which was augmented by those Chariots armed with Scithes, which marched at the head of the Enemy, and rendred the Battel very bloody; but when *Caesar's* People, and especially the Veteran Legion, had reco-

recovered their order, they forced the Enemy to give ground, and defeated them with so great a slaughter, that *Caesar* several times could not forbear saying, *That Pompey was very happy to have gotten so much glory at so easie a rate against such an Enemy.* It was also for this Victory that when he Triumphed at *Rome*, he bore this famous Inscription, *Veni, Vidi, Vici*, I came, I saw, I overcame. In effect, this absolutely put an end to the War, for he took *Pharnaces's* Camp, who fled into the remotest places of *Asia*, he abandoned all the plunder to his Soldiers, and after having restored *Deiotarus* his Troops again, giving some necessary orders to the Neighbouring Provinces, where he left two Legions under *Cassius Vinicianus*, and establishing *Mithridates* of *Pergama*, who had served him so well in *Agypt*, King of *Bosphorus*, he embarked and went into *Italy*, with a diligence which put all the world in Admiration.

\* *This is that Country which lies on the other side of the Channel over against Constantinople.*

## CHAP. LVIII.

*Cæsar returns into Italy. His Troops Mutiny, he appeases them, and returns into Africa. More Battels.*

**U**PON his arrival in *Italy*, *Cicero* and a great many others of *Pompey's* Party came to meet him, and were received by him, as if they had always been of his Interest. This his moderation and behaviour purchased him the favour of the people of *Rome*, so that he very easily qualified all Divisions there, and got himself chosen Consul, but he found not matters in so good a condition amongst his Troops, who were grown to that height of insolence, that the tenth Legion, whom for its Valour he had always particularly favoured, openly revolted, and killed *Isconius* and *Galba*, two of the Senatours, so he sent for other Troops into *Rome* to guard the City, and notwithstanding the Counsel of his Friends to the contrary, went to find out this Mutinous Legion, which was drawn up in the field of *Mars*, the pretence of their Revolt was the rewards which he had promised them before the Battel of *Pharsalia*. Nevertheless, when he appeared before them, the presence of a General famous for so many Victories, so brave as he was, and of so noble a presence, struck them with such respect, that the most Insolent of them had not a word which he durst



durst utter. So he mounted upon a Tribunal, and demanding of them, *What they had to say to him in relation to their rewards? They onely begged of him to give them leave to quit their Arms, alledging their age, their wounds, and their long service; It is but just, says he, I do give you leave, and ye may be gone.* This answer indeed surprized them, for they believing that he had still need of their service, expected that he would have given them Presents to have kept them together, so that they continuing yet for some time without saying any thing; *As to your rewards (says he) those I will give you when I have triumphed over the rest of my Enemies.* This word *rewards* made them recollect themselves a little, they began to believe that he would have forgotten their Revolt, for they were ashamed to forsake him, promising themselves yet great advantages under his Conduct, besides, they saw they should be but a laughing stock to both Parties, there being no man in *Italy* who durst put himself at the head of them, for this reason they expected with great apprehension how he would farther explain himself, and his Friends about him very much importuned him. When he began to speak to them, he called them *Citizens.* This word, which seemed to degrade them, was like a clap of Thunder in their Ears, so they cryed out with confusion, *That they were Soldiers,* and as he made an offer to come down angrily from his Tribunal, they threw themselves at his feet, *Conjuring him to inflict all*  
Q *those*

those punishments upon them which their insolence deserved, rather than disband them so shamefully. This was the Point which he desired to bring them to, so he remained a long time inflexible either to their prayers or their tears, till at last pretending himself overcome by the importunity of his Friends, he once more ascended the Tribunal, and said, *That that Revolt so much the more surprized him, for that it came from the Legion which he had distinguished by his particular favours, that for all this he would not punish them after he had once so much loved them, that he would allow all that he had promised them, and more than that Lands too for their subsistence, when he should have completed the War in Africa; but that they should not follow him in that War, but remain in Italy.* This last exception yet more and more afflicted them, they offered themselves to be decimated for punishment of their fault. And this submission so intirely appeased him, that he consented they should have leave to follow him. In this manner by his Resolution and his Address did he gloriously acquit himself in an undertaking of so much danger. *Cesar* made but a short stay at *Rome* after this action, and when he had re-established order and quiet in the City, leaving *Antonius* to Command there, he marched by great Journeys into *Sicily*. He would not make his entry into any City, but to signify the impatience he had to go into *Africa*, encamped himself so near the Sea-side, that the waves flowed up to the very foot of his Tent, and though  
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the Winds were contrary, he nevertheless Embarked what Souldiers he had with him, who consisted of one Legion of new Levies and 600 Horse. In the mean while four other new Legions, and one more, being a Veteran Legion, came up with about 2000 Horse, which obliged him to send away all his Fleet, whom he soon after joyned, leaving orders with *Alienus* the Pretor of *Sicily*, to send him the other Legions as fast as they should arrive. Now as the Troops of his Enemies consisted of great numbers, for *Juba* had four Legions, abundance of light armed Foot and Cavalry almost innumerable; *Scipio* ten Legions, six and twenty Elephants, and a great many Ships which were in possession of all the Ports of *Africa*. *Cesar* had appointed his Fleet no certain place of Rendezvous, he came in four days time in sight of the African Coast, and passing with part of his Navy before the Cities of *Clupea* and *Neapolis*, he presented himself before *Adrumetum*, *Corsidius* Commanded in that place, and *Piso* guarded the Coast with 2000 Moorish Horse. *Cesar* made shew as if he would attack the Port, and afterwards ran ashore a little way off, where he landed onely with 3000 Foot, and 150 Horse. In the first place he Commanded that none of his Souldiers should straggle from the Body, and advanced his Troops towards the City, where after having intrenched himself, he sent one of his Prisoners to *Comfidius*, who after

having understood that he came from *Caesar*, caused him to be slain in his presence, and sent his Letters to *Scipio*, *Caesar*, who had no design to attack that place, marched all along the Coast to *Ruspina*, being all the way annoyed by Parties from the Enemy. And it was in one of these occasions that 30 Gallick Horse beat 2000 Moors, and drove them almost to the Gates of *Adrumetum*, he durst not quit the Sea, being uncertain what might become of the rest of his Fleet, and though he had sent ten Vessels to inquire intelligence, and had taken the City of \* *Lepta*, from whence having furnished himself with good store of Provisions, he returned towards *Ruspina*, and went on Board with six old Cohorts, without making any discovery of what he designed. When his absence was known in the Camp, the Soldiers were extremely astonished, and were for a whole night almost desperate. In the mean while he was Coasting, and by good fortune met the rest of his Fleet, which came upon the same design, so he returned to his Camp with great diligence, and drew up his Army in Battalia to receive those who landed. His presence put an end to their apprehensions, so he decamped the same hour to advance farther into the Country; he had hardly marched three miles when his Scouts brought him word that the Enemy appeared: A moment after he himself discovered a very thick dust which was from *Labiennus*, *Scipio's* Lieutenant, who came with  
a great

\* Tripoli.

a great Army either to hinder his descent, or to fall upon him as he was in disorder, and in effect whatever *Hirtius* says in his Commentaries, almost all other Authours believe that *Caesar* found himself at this time in great danger, the number of his Enemies was much greater than that of his own Troops, and his Souldiers being almost all of them new raised Men, had not been acquainted with the manner of fighting against the *Numidians*. These People, as they doe to this day, observe no manner of Order, but being very well Mounted, used to fight by running out from their main Body throwing a great many Lances, and retreating at the same time that their Enemy comes forth against them. *Caesar* had need now of all his Experience as well as Courage, to hinder his being totally put to a rout, he fought with his own hands, and taking by the Collar an Officer who carried the Eagle of that Legion which fled brought him up into the foremost ranks. At last a Souldier of the tenth Legion, (whom *Labi- nus* affronted, after having known him,) lancing his Horse with a Javelin. *Caesar*, while *Labiennus* was carrying off, endeavoured with his Legionaries to open a passage through the Enemy, who had hemmed him in, and made his retreat good into his Camp, in despite of the coming up of *Petereius*, who it is said spared him upon this occasion, under pretence that he ought not to take away from *Scipio* their General the Glory of



completing the Victory. A little time after *Scipio* came to join his Lieutenant with eight Legions, and 4000 Horfe, proclaiming every where that *Juba* was following him with yet greater reinforcement. This report extremely terrified *Caesar's* new Souldiers, their fear appeared in their very faces, and in all their motions, and as it had made them very apprehensive, *Caesar* to take away that inconveniency, caused them to be drawn together, where he spake to them, *I am* (said he) *very glad to let you understand that in a few days Juba is to arrive with 10 Legions, 30000 Horfe, 100000 light armed Foot, and 300 Elephants, so that those who are now so curious, and dispute so much upon the matter, may be at rest and believe me, since I ought to know it, else I shall send them on board the worst and oldest of my Ships, where it shall please the winds and fortune to carry them.* This discourse so full of assurance, inspired them with fresh Courage, and put a stop to those sort of reports. It is true indeed, that *Juba* was coming up, but *Boguo* a King of one part of *Mauritania*, and *Sittius* a Roman, who was seated in *Africa* with a great many of *Marinus's* Souldiers had entred his Kingdom, and made such Progress there, as obliged him to return, so the War was carried on between the two Roman Generals, and *Caesar*, who would forget nothing that might be for the advantage of his Affairs, knowing that many were of opinion that the *Scipio's* seemed as if born to triumph in *Africa*, chose from amongst his Troops a man of very

very small merit, but one who bore that name with the Surname *Salutio*, and caused all orders to be issued out in his name, as if he had been General. In the mean while he wearied the Enemy by different movements, dayly retrenching himself, and besides his Ramparts, which were furnished with all sorts of Darts, made moreover Ditches filled with stakes, and in this condition suffered the affronts of *Scipio*, who came often to offer him Battel; *Cesar* contenting himself to let his Cavalry onely draw out, and distributing his Orders with so much security, that he hardly so much as went out of his Tent. Moreover, as his Souldiers were not yet much inured to War, he took pains himself for their instruction, shewing them how they ought to receive the on-sets of the Enemy, in what manner they ought to make their Retreat, when they ought to Charge, and when to recover their Ranks. In short, all necessary postures with the same care that a Master of Defence instructs his Scholars. He forgot not also to quicken the succours that were coming up, and which he expected, by People whom he dispatched express into several places, never being satisfied with any excuse against the execution of his orders. At last *Alienus* sent him from *Sicily* two old Legions, 800 Gallick Horse, and 1000 Archers or Slingers, who arrived fortunately at *Ruspina*; with these Recruits *Cesar* left his Retrenchments, and marched towards *Uzita*, as if he would

attack it. *Scipio* came to succour that place, and this motion was the occasion of great disputes without any advantage on one side or the other. *Cæsar's* Cavalry suffered much for want of Forrage, and were forced to feed their Horses with the Moss growing on the Sea-side, which they first washed, to take out the Salt, and then mingled with quitch Grass, the Legionaries themselves having brought no Tents, were forced to lodge under very ill Barraques. This inconveniency had like to have caused a great disorder amongst them by a kind of Prodigy that happened, which was, that one night towards the time that the *Plyades* disappear, there fell in his Camp certain stones like Hail, which wounded a great many, and overthrew all their Barraques, so that they passed the whole night covered onely with their Bucklers. Nevertheless nothing could diminish the love which they had for their General. And some old Souldiers being taken on Board a Vessel at *Thapsus*, and carried to *Scipio*, though he made them very advantageous Offers, refused positively to follow him, and chose rather to see themselves cut in pieces by *Scipio's* Orders, than undergo the shame of being called Deserters. In the mean time *Juba* being solicited by Letters from *Scipio*, having left *Saburra* to defend his Kingdom, came up with three Legions, 8000 brideled \* Horse, and a great number of Numidians and light armed Foot, with 30 Elephants; his presence added much to the Courage

\* This distinction is made, because the Numidians carried their Horses to the Wars without any Bridles, causing them to turn to the right or left with a certain switch or rod.

Courage of *Scipio's* Troops. This King of *Barbarians*, causing himself to be respected above the Roman Officers, and treating them with Contempt. They several times attacked those Parties which *Caesar* sent out for discovery, and came often to disturb their Works, insomuch that one day *Juba*, *Scipio*, and *Labiennus* came at the head of all their Horse, to affront his Legionaries in sight of his Camp. *Caesar's* Cavalry, who were upon the Guard, were forced to give ground, but the Legionaries taking their Arms, and marching up in order, the Horse returned to the Charge so vigourously, that had it not been for the darknes caused by the dust, and the coming on of the night, *Juba*, and *Labiennus* had certainly fallen into the hands of *Caesar*, and their Cavalry been utterly defeated.

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## CHAP. LIX.

*Cæsar chastiseth some Mutineers, and after several movements defeats Scipio and Juba.*

THESE performances very much encouraged Cæsar's Souldiers, who were encamped near *Uxita*, when the ninth and tenth Legion came up to his Camp, the Insolence of the Revolters could not be so well forgotten, but that he had still a resolution to make an example of some of them to the rest of his Troops; wherefore being informed that *Avienus*, one of the Tribunes of that Legion, had taken up a whole Vessel for his own Equipage and Horses, without receiving so much as one Souldier, he took that occasion, and being well assured of the affection of the rest of his Souldiers, gave orders that all the Officers that belonged to the Legions, should be called together. *I could well have wisht (said he) that some persons might by this time have reformed their licentious and insolent behaviour, and made some reflexions upon my good nature, my forbearance, and my patience, but since they have not known how to regulate themselves, I am resolved to make such an example as the Discipline of War requires. Therefore you Avienus, who have debauched the Souldiers of the Roman People against the Republick, committed a thousand exactions in the Cities of Italy, and who are as useless to the Commonwealth as you are to me, seeing that instead of*

*Soul-*



Souldiers, you thought a whole Ship but sufficient for your Equipage, and by that means have obstructed the service of the Republick, I here Casheer you from my Army, Commanding you to leave Africa this very day, and withdraw yourself as far hence as it's possible. You Fonteius, who are a seditious Tribune, and a base Citizen, I Command you also to depart the Camp. And you Salienus, Tiro, and Clufinas, who after having by favour, and not by merit obtained the Posts ye now Command in, have shewen as little Valour in War as Honesty in Peace, and who have always taken more care to make your Souldiers mutiny against their General, than to behave yourselves as Men of Honour ought to doe; I declare you unworthy of any Command in my Army, and here ordain that this moment ye depart out of Africa. Immediately he put them into the hands of some Centurions, and leaving them onely each a slave to attend him, Commanded them to be put on Board upon different Ships. On the other side Juba, who domineered in the other Party, and who treated even Scipio himself with Arrogance, having forced him to quit the Coat Armour of Purple, which distinguished him as General, caused almost dayly his Troops to draw out in Battalia before Caesar's Camp, who thought himself obliged in Honour to quit his Retrenchments. Scipio had put all his Legions, and those of Juba upon the first line, the Numidian Foot upon the second, the Wings whereof appeared to be doubled, the Elephants being on the right and left upon the Wings,

Wings, and behind the Elephants the *Numidian* Cavalry, all his bridled Horse and light armed Foot were upon the right, the City of *Uzita* closing up the left, and this he did with a design to hem in the Troops of *Caesar*, who had ordered his men in this manner, the seventh and ninth Legion were upon the left, the twenty ninth and thirtieth were upon the right, and four Legions in the Centre. The new Legions composed the second Line, he had also made a third, which took up but half the left of the second Line, it being covered upon the right with his Retrenchments. In this place also he had posted all his Cavalry, and as he thought not fit much to rely upon them, the tenth Legion was Commanded to second them, his light armed Foot being drawn up in the Intervals of the Cavalry: In this posture the two Armies remained at about 300 paces distance facing each other, from morning till four a clock in the Evening, without fighting, which perhaps had never before happened. But *Caesar* offering to retire, all the *Numidian* Cavalry came thundring upon his left Wing, and his Horsemen being a little too far advanced, a great many of them were wounded, and one slain, with 26 of his light armed Foot, the night hindred any farther proceeding, and *Scipio* retreated into his Camp with a great deal of Joy. Now all the thoughts of *Caesar* were, how he might take away from his People the fear they had of the Enemy, and especially of their Elephants,

phants, wherefore having some of them in his Camp, he accustomed his Souldiers to approach them boldly, he caused them to observe the place where those Beasts were most easily to be wounded, and caused his Cavalry to assault them with blunted Lances, by that means to inure the Horses to the sight of them. At last, when by these exercises he found they were grown no longer afraid of them, he decamped, seeking daily how he might post himself with most advantage. After many removings, and some skirmishes, wherein *Labienus* came by the worst, observing that his Enemies began to fear the Valour of his Legions, he went to attack the City of *Thapsus*, where *Virgilius* Commanded for *Scipio* with a very strong Garrison. *Scipio*, who was afraid, left in loosing that City, his Reputation might suffer, came also to post himself about nine miles from *Cesar*, where he and *Juba* entrenched themselves in two several Camps. There was near to *Thapsus* a Pond of salt water, about 1500 paces distant from the Sea. *Scipio's* design was by that interval to put some Troops into the place, but *Cesar*, who had foreseen as much, and expected it, had built a Fort there, and left a Garrison in three places, which obliged *Scipio* to make some attacks, but without success, and after having passed a whole night and a day on the banks of the Pond, set his Troops a work for retrenching themselves towards the Sea, 1500 paces from *Cesar's* Fort. *Cesar*  
about

about break of day was informed of the proceeding, so leaving *Asprinas* to guard his Camp, he marched directly upon the Enemy by the interval, which was between the Pond and the Sea. He sent also orders to those who Commanded his Vessels that were before *Thapsus*, that leaving onely some to defend the mouth of the Port, they should advance with the rest on the other side of *Scipio's* Camp, and at the first noise of Battle, setting their Souldiers on shore, make an attack upon that side with noise and shouting. *Caesar's* Army marched upon three lines, the four best Legions on the front, and the five others making as it were a body of Reserve, five Cohorts upon the Wings, who were designed to engage the Elephants, with all his Archers and Slingers, and his light armed Foot mingled with his Cavalry. For himself, he was on foot, going through the ranks, and animating his Souldiers by his presence and his Exhortations. He found *Scipio* drawn up in Battalia before his Retrenchments, the works whereof he caused dayly to be continued, but at the sight of *Caesar's* Army his Souldiers began to be much disordered. It was easie to see how they ran about from one place to another, sometimes into the Camp, and sometimes out again in all manner of confusion, which extremely animated *Caesar's* Men, who nevertheless did what he could to oppose their impatience, and ran to put a stop to such as he saw most eager, when upon

upon the right Wing, a Trumpet contrary to his Orders, sounded a Charge, immediately the Cohorts upon the Wings, in spight of their Commanders, ran on, which *Cesar* seeing, gave for the word of Battel, *Felicitas*, and calling for his Horse, was the first that charged the Enemy. *Scipio's* Elephants were immediately put to flight by the Archers and Slingers upon the right Wing, and overthrowing the Souldiers that were behind them, ran into the entrance of the Camp. The Moorish Cavalry being abandoned by the Elephants, were easily dispersed, and *Cesar's* Legions killing all that opposed their way, got possession of the Enemies Trenches. The Garrison of *Thapsus* had made one sally, but were driven in again by the very Servants that belonged to *Cesar's* Camp, so that nothing but disorder and fear appearing every where, *Scipio's* Men had nothing to consider of, but flying towards the Camp, which for two days before they had quitted, but seeing themselves without any Leader, they threw down their Arms, that they might run more lightly towards the Camp of *Juba*, which those of *Cesar's* Troops, who had not been engaged, had already forced, so these poor Souldiers of *Scipio* retreated up to a hill, where, though they made sign that they would surrender themselves, though they saluted *Cesar's* Men, and had thrown down their Arms, nevertheless, the Veterans, heated with blood, and transported with fury, after having woun-



wounded and killed some Senatours of their own Party, whom they did not love, and who would have with-held them, they cut them all in pieces, though *Cæsar* himself were present.

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## CHAP. LX.

*The death of Scipio and Juba. Cæsar marches towards Utica. The death of Cato.*

**P***lutarch* reports that 50000 Men fell in this Battel, *Hirtius* reckons onely 10000. This Victory, so absolute as it was, cost *Cæsar* but 50 Souldiers. All the heads of that Party seeing no hopes of farther relief, perished by divers accidents, *Scipio* endeavouring to save himself by Sea, finding his Vessel taken, ran upon his own Sword. *Juba* and *Petreius* fought one against the other, where *Petreius* being slain by the King, he also commanded a death from the hands of one of his slaves. *Afranius* and *Faufstus*, the Sons of *Silla*, were taken by *Sittius*, who put them to death. Onely *Labienus* escaped into *Spain*, and all *Africa* submitted to *Cæsar*, except the City of *Utica*: *Cato* Commanded there with some Troops, and had established a kind of a Senate,

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composed of 300 Romans which he had gathered to him, he received the news of the Battel by some of *Scipio's* Horsemen, who had rallied together in a considerable number, and as the Inhabitants of *Utica* had always appeared inclined to *Cesar*, *Cato* to secure them, had put them into a Fortification without the City. The Cavaliers would have taken this occasion to plunder, but *Cato* went to them, and by his Intercession and Authority persuaded them not to use any violence. They offered him to follow him if he would make his retreat with them, but he answered, *That his design was to hold out the siege*, though when he returned into the Town, he found the minds of every body so divided, and so unresolved, that he soon quitted that design for another more agreeable to his Character, and those Opinions of Philosophy whereof he had always made profession. In the mean while he gave out his Orders with most admirable Prudence and Resolution. He sent away the Cavaliers, fearing lest they should commit some new disorder. He persuaded several of his Friends to save themselves by Sea, others (as *Lucius*, who was a Kinsman of *Cesar's*) to rely upon his goodnests, this last thing he recommended to his Children, and made a large discourse to the eldest, exhorting him never to intermeddle with the affairs of the Republick. At night, according to his usual Custom, he came to Supper; (that is to say) sitting,  
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for since the death of *Pompey*, he had never, according to the Roman Custome, lain down at his Meals. Several of his particular Friends were with him, and amongst others, some Philosophers. The Discourse ran altogether upon Philosophy, and *Cato* defended that Maxim, *That the Vertuous onely were happy and free, but wicked men always miserable and in slavery.* He grew very warm upon this Subject, and managed it with so much heat, that his Friends might easily discover he had something more than ordinary in his mind, nor could they conceal the grief it gave them, which caused him to change the discourse, and apply himself to his business, so he gave out several orders, to let them see that life and he were not yet upon ill terms. A little time after he went to bed, having first embraced his Sons, and the whole Company, but with so much tenderness, that it redoubled their suspicions, and caused them to take away his Sword, which he was always wont to have by him. He took up *Plato's* Book of the Soul, and after having read a little while, looking for his Sword, and not finding it, he called for one of his Slaves, and without the least disorder onely bid him fetch it, but seeing he was not obeyed, he asked for it a second time, and grew so angry, that he struck the slave with such force, that he hurt his hand, crying out, *He was betrayed, and should be delivered to his Enemies naked and disarmed.* At the noise of this,

this, his Sons and his Friends came into his Chamber, he spoke to them with some passion, saying, *How long is it that ye have observed me to have lost common sense? And why do ye not try to persuade me by reason, without obliging me by force to follow other Opinions than those I have already? Why dost not thou (said he to his Son) bind thy Father, and tie up his hands, that so I may be no longer in a condition to defend my self against Cæsar, for against my self I have no need of the help of a Sword, can any man miss of a way to death? may he not stifle himself, or beat out his brains against the Walls?* At this Discourse his Sons went out of the Chamber weeping, and left him with Demetrius, and Apollodorus, who were two Philosophers, and his Friends, so he renewed the discourse with something more of moderation, *Are not ye also, says he, of the opinion to persuade a man of my years in spite of himself to save his life? And do not you stay here to sit like Mutes, and wait upon me for my guard? Or if you bring me any good reasons to convince me, that having nothing else to rely on, it would not be a thing unworthy of my self to beg my life as a particular favour from the hands of my Enemy, why do ye not proceed to prove it to me? That so renouncing all those Maxims which we have hitherto maintained together, and becoming more wise by the means of Cæsar, we may find our selves so much the more obliged to him? It is not, added he, that I have yet resolved upon that Subject, I would debate it with you after having*

examined those Books and Reasons which Philosophy supplies us with upon the like occasion. Go, get ye gone, and tell my Sons that they ought not to think of persuading me by force to a thing which they cannot convince me of by Reason. After this, Demetrius went out and sent him back his Sword by a young Slave, he examined the point, if it were good, and would enter well, and finding it to his mind, he laid it by him, saying, *I am Master of my self*, so he took again the Book, which he read twice over, and then fell into so sound a sleep, that he was heard into his Anti-Chamber: about midnight he called two of his Freed-Men, *Cleantes* his Physician, and *Butas*, this last he sent to the Port, to see if those that would embark themselves, were departed, and made his Physician apply a Plaster to his hand that was hurt. This care of himself extremely rejoiced all his Family, *Butas* came back to tell him that every body was embarked, and that the Sea was very rough. He seemed to shew a great deal of concern for his Friends that were on Board, and sent back *Butas* to see if any of them were not driven back, and wanted his assistance. The day began to appear, when *Butas* returned to tell him that the Sea was grown calm, and that no noise was heard upon the Port: so *Cato* dismissed him, and hardly was the Freed-man got out of his Chamber; when he took his Sword, and thrust himself through the Breast, the hurt of his hand



hand so hindred the blow, that he did not dye immediately, but staggering, fell upon his Bed, and at the same time threw down a Table, upon which he had drawn some figures of Geometry, at the noise of this his Slaves came in, and with their Cries brought also his Sons and his Friends, they found him weltring in his blood, his Bowels out of his body, and were so confounded with their grief, that they beheld him without being able to give him any assistance, his Eyes were yet open, which caused his Physician to ease him upon the Bed, and after having put up his Bowels, which had not been hurt, he closed up the wound. Upon this, *Cato* recovered his Spirits, and being transported with fury, thrust back the Physician, rent open his wound again, and tearing his Bowels, expired before their Eyes. In this manner dyed *Cato*, at the age of 55 years, and though this last action of his found many admirers, nevertheless *Brutus* himself, who was his Nephew, condemned it in a Book which he wrote a purpose, and many reasons there are indeed why it ought to be considered with horreur; *Cesar* also was of the same Opinion, and wrote upon the same subject when he heard the news of his death. He said, *That Cato had envied him the glory of saving his life, and it is for that reason, said he, that I envy his death.* He pardoned his Son, who was afterwards slain at the Battle of *Philippi*, with much more glory than

he had lived, having discovered too strong an inclination for the Wife of a Prince of the bloud Royal of *Cappadocia*, whose name was *Psyche*, which in Greek signifies the Soul, and her Husband's name was *Maphradates*, which caused a saying amongst the Romans, *That Maphradates and Cato were good Friends, for they had but one Soul, and moreover Cato is generous and magnanimous, for he has a Royal Soul.*

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. LXI.

*Cæsar returns to Rome. The Pomp and Magnificence of his Triumphs.*

AFTER the death of *Cato*, *Utica* surrendered to *Cæsar*, he pardoned the Inhabitants, but as many as fell into his hands of the three hundred that had usurped the quality of Senators, he put to death. So *Africa* being intirely brought into subjection, he returned to *Rome* to Triumph for all his Victories. At first, to obtain the favour of the People, he gave them to understand in a speech he made them, *That his last Victory had gained the Republick a Countrey so rich, and of such an extent, that it was able to furnish 600000 Bushels of Corn, and 2000 pounds of Oil yearly.* After this he ordered the preparation for his Triumph upon four successive days, the first designed for the Triumph over *Gaul*, shewed to the Romans in a great many Tables the names of 300 Nations, and 800 Cities Conquered by the death of a Milion of Foes, whom he had defeated in several Battels. Amongst the Prisoners, appeared that *Vercingetorix*, who had raised up all the Gauls against the Romans, and who had attacked *Cæsar* at the siege of *Alesia*, followed by 300000 fighting Men, besides threescore and ten thousand that were in the place besieged, all the Roman Souldiers followed  
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their General Crowned with Laurels, and in that Equipage he went to the Capitol, the steps whereof he mounted upon his knees, forty Elephants being ranged on each side, carrying great Candlesticks, filled with Flambeaus. This shew lasted till night, by reason that the Axeltree of his Triumphant Chariot broke, which had like to have thrown down the Conquerour at the time when he thought himself at the highest Pinnacle of his Glory. The second Triumph was over *Aegypt*, where appeared the Pictures of *Ptolemy*, *Photinus* and *Achillas*, which very much rejoyced the People of *Rome*. The third shewed the defeat of *Pharnaces*, and the flight of that King, which caused great shouts of Joy amongst the Romans, and many Ralleries upon the Conquered, and here it was that he made use of that Inscription \* whereof we have spoken. But when in the fourth Triumph they saw the descriptions of *Scipio*, *Petreius*, and *Cato* himself, who was painted tearing his Bowels, they sighed as much for sorrow. The Son of *Juba*, who yet was very young, was carried amongst the Prisoners, and that Prince coming to be afterwards a very gallant Man, and of great understanding, *Augustus* gave him back again part of his Father's Kingdom, and Married him to young *Cleopatra*, the Daughter of *Marcus Antonius*. The Silver, the Vessels, and Statues of Goldsmiths work which were used in these Triumphs, amounted to threescore and sixty five thousand

\* Veni,  
vidi, vici.

and Talents, besides a thousand eight hundred and twenty two Crowns of Gold, which weighed 15033 *l. sterl.* and were Presents which the Princes and Cities had made him after his Victories according to the Customs of those times. It was out of this sum that he paid his Souldiers, besides what he had promised them in the beginning of the Civil Wars. To every one 5000 Drachma's, as much more to the Centurions, and twice as much to the Tribunes and Commanders of the Cavalry, and for their retreat after the Wars, he gave them Inheritances in several places separated from *Italy*. The People also were sensible of his Bounty, he distributed to each particular person ten bushels of Corn, and ten pounds of Oil, and besides the 300 *Denarii* which he had promised a 100 more, as for their Arrears; he ordered also in favour of the poorer sort, that the rent of Houses, which was grown to an excessive rate, should be reduced in *Rome* to 2000 *Sestertii*, and in *Italy* to 500, and after this he entertained the whole People at 22000 Tables, and to the end that nothing might be wanting to the Pomp of these Feasts, caused 2000 Gladiatours to fight before the People, amongst whom appeared *Leptenus* and *Calpenus*, who had been Senatours, and all this under the pretence of Celebrating the Funerals of his Daughter *Julia*. Upon the following days also were seen Comedies in all sort of Languages represented in several places of the City, where



\* That is,  
because  
these Games  
were instituted by the  
Trojans.

where the Children of the Asian Princes danced Armed. The Cirque was enlarged by his order, and surrounded with a Ditch filled with Water; and in this place the Children of the Roman Nobles exercised on Horseback, and upon Chariots, with 2 and 4 in front; at last being divided into two Troops, they represented that sort of Game which was called \* *Troy*, to these diversions succeeded those of hunting of wild Beasts, which lasted five days. Afterwards two Armies were shewn incamped in the Cirque, each consisting of 500 Foot Souldiers, 20 Elephants, and 300 Horse, who represented a Battel. The Wrestlers also took up two days. And after all, upon a Lake made a purpose in the field of *Mars*, two Fleets of Gallies furnished with a 1000 Souldiers, and 4000 Rowers or Mariners diverted the People with the representations of a Naval fight. These entertainments having drawn so many People to *Rome*, that the greatest part of them were forced to incamp in the publick places, a great many being stifled in the press, and amongst the rest, two that were Senatours.

## CHAP. LXII.

*Cæsar goes into Spain, where he defeats the two Sons of Pompey, the oldest whereof is slain.*

**D**URING the time of these rejoycings, the two Sons of *Pompey* fortified themselves in *Spain*, and as that People still passionately affected the memory of their Father, they soon got together a powerfull Army; they had also very good Officers, and amongst the rest *Labiænus*, which obliged *Cæsar* to go in person to oppose their proceedings. He was then the third time Dictatour, but e'er he would depart, resolving to take a general review of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, as the Censors had formerly done, he found onely 150000 heads of Families remaining of 320000 which had been numbred before the Civil War, which now had wasted the greater half of them, *Cæsar* nevertheless arrived in *Spain* sooner than he was expected. *Cneius*, the eldest of the two *Pompey's*, had besieged the City of *Ulloa*, and *Sextus* the younger Brother was in *Cordova* with a strong Garrison. *Cæsar* to raise the siege, and give some jealousy to *Cneius*, advanced towards *Cordova* with what Troops he had with him, and those others that were in the Province under the Commands of *Pedius* and *Fabius* his Lieutenant Generals. This proceeding had its effect accordingly, for *Cneius* solicited by Letters from his Brother, raised the siege from before *Ulloa*, and came to oppose  
*Cæsar,*

*Cesar*, who after having vainly endeavoured to draw him to Battel, went to invest *Arcua*, that being the place of most importance, which held out for the *Pompey's*. *Cneius* being deceived by those fires which *Cesar* had kindled in his Camp, discovered not that he was marched, till it was too late to follow him, so he retreated to *Cordova* to refresh his Troops, and came afterwards to take possession of some hills near *Cesar's* Camp, but the Camp was so well fortified, that he could attempt nothing upon him. The siege lasted a long time, and the besieged defended themselves very well, which obliged *Cneius* several times to endeavour the putting of Succours into the place, to which purpose he made divers skirmishes, and indeed not much to his disadvantage. At last those of the Garrison seeing themselves pressed, undertook by a most horrible Treachery to cut the Throats of the Inhabitants, and then make a general Sally for the forcing the circumvallation of *Cesar's* Camp. The Massacre was put in execution, but their Villany succeeded not, for they were beaten in their Sally, and driven back into the Town with great slaughter. At last *Mimius*, who Commanded there in chief, desired that he might Capitulate, and surrendered the place almost in the sight of *Cneius*. After this, *Cesar* drew nearer with his Camp, and they disputed for the ground by several Works which they caused to be thrown up, and which at last occasioned a great Battel; wherein

wherein *Cæsar's* Cavalry were forced to give ground to those of the Enemy, which advantage seeming a kind of reparation for the loss of *Atecuæ*, very much raised the courage of *Cneius*, some of his Letters being intercepted, wherein he gave account, *That Cæsar had onely with him raw and unexperienced Souldiers, that he durst not put himself upon the hazard of Battel, but that nevertheless means should be found to force him to it.* With this imagination he went to incamp himself near \* *Hispalis*. In the mean while *Cæsar* possessed \* *Sevill*. himself of two Castles, and knowing that *Cneius* was incamped in the Plain of *Munda*, he marched his Army thither. The two Generals were equally impatient to come to an engagement, so that *Cneius* drew up his Troops in Battalia, by break of day he had posted himself very well upon a Hill, both sides whereof were defended, one by the City of *Munda*, and the other by a little River and a Marsh, the exactness of their order shewed his Troops to great advantage, especially his Horse, who were very well armed, the River also being upon his right hand, and separating the Hill, where he was incamped from the Plain, which was five Miles in length, and reached as far as *Cæsar's* Camp. He also had drawn up his Troops in Battalia, and expected when the Enemy should come down into the Plain to fight him. But as they never stirred above a thousand paces from the City. *Cæsar* advanced as far as the Rivolet : now according  
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to the Rules of War *Cneius* ought to have engaged him in his passage, but his general Officers were obstinately of Opinion to defend the Hill. *Caesar* well perceiving that he could not come at them without great disadvantage, and that they prepared themselves to charge him as he came up, caused his Army to halt, as if he intended to fortify himself in that Post. His Army consisted of 24 Cohorts, and 8000 Horse, the tenth Legion were upon the Right, the third and fifth upon the Left, and the Cavalry upon the Wings. *Cneius* had fourteen Legions, the Cavalry and his light armed Foot amounted to 6000 Men, with an equal number of Auxiliary Troops. *Caesar's* Souldiers murmured that he would not let them make use of the occasion to engage, and the delay so incouraged those of *Cneius*, that they advanced upon the declining part of the Hill, so both sides gave a shout, and the Battel began. The first shock was managed on both parts with so much courage, that *Caesar's* Men, who had been used to Conquer, found themselves something abated of their fierceness. The tenth Legion, though extremely weakned in number, nevertheless pressed hard upon that which it was engaged withall. But *Cneius* Commanded a Legion to march up upon the Right to its assistance. During this proceeding, *Caesar's* Cavalry charged *Pompey's* left Wing, who received it in very good Order, so that all the Troops on both sides being now engaged, every one was to expect



expect his safety from his own proper Valour. All Authours agree that *Caesar* was never in so great danger as now, and he himself has since declared, *That ever before he fought for glory, but at Munda for his life.* He threw himself several times amongst the midst of his Enemies, crying out to his People, *That they ought to take him and deliver him to those Children to save themselves the shame of being beaten,* so well did he encourage them by his speeches, but much better by a thousand actions of bravery which he performed, that at last with much adoe he overthrew *Cneius's* Troops, and killed thirty thousand upon the place, but he lost a thousand of his own Men, and had five hundred wounded. All the Ensigns were taken, and *Varnus* and *Labiennus* slain in the Battel. *Cneius* with 150 Horse escaped to \* *Carteia*, from whence thinking to get away by Sea, he was forced by the arrival of *Didius*, *Caesar's* Lieutenant, to return to Land. He was immediately besieged within a Tower, and attacked so vigorously, that being wounded in the Shoulder and the Thigh, having his Heel put out of joint, he was forsaken by his People, and slain in a Cave, where he had hid himself. The young *Sextus* had better fortune, for escaping from *Cordova*, where he had been during the time of the Battel, he concealed himself so well, that *Caesar* could not find him, or at least because he was so young, mistook him. After this Victory, which put an end to that famous War, there nothing

† *Tariffa.*

nothing appeared to make resistance, so *Cæsar* having given out several Orders, and exacted great Contributions from the Enemies Cities, under pretence of punishing their Rebellion, he returned to *Rome* not a little glad, that he had at last brought under submission that Commonwealth which gave Laws to the greatest part of the World.

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CHAP.

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## CHAP. LXIII.

*Cæsar's return to Rome. He makes several Laws. The extreme Honours which were done him, draw upon him the Envy of the Senate.*

HE would needs Triumph at his return, but that Triumph was by no means attended with any joyfull Acclamations of the People, who were grieved to see the Memory of their beloved *Pompey* insulted over. After this, *Cæsar* applyed himself to regulate the state of the Commonwealth, and pardoned all those who had born Arms against him. He caused also *Pompey's* Statues to be set up again, and *Cicero* observed very properly upon that occasion, saying, *That Cæsar by restoring Pompey's Statues secured his own.* He published several Laws, as that which limited the expences of Feasts, which he caused to be observed with all severity. Another touching the use of Litters, embroidered Robes and Pearls, which he confined onely to certain Persons. That which allowed the right of a free Citizen to all People of Quality of whatsoever profession, besides, a great many other very good Ordinances. He sate in Judgment with wonderfull diligence and application, and without suffering himself to be balanced

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ced in favour of any of the Criminals. Moreover, to shew that nothing should escape his care, he undertook to regulate the Roman Year, which was at that time very much confounded, and as it consisted but of ten months, according to the establishment of *Romulus*, and *Numa* had taken care to add two others, consisting of sixty five days, nevertheless the year wanted eleven days and a quarter, and though several remedies had been sought for the reforming of that Errour, it happened out in succession of time that the Festivals came in seasons quite contrary to their Institution; as for example, those for the Vintages in Spring, and those of the Harvest in Winter. *Cæsar*, after having consulted upon this occasion the most able Astronomers, and being himself very well instructed in that Science, whereof he had written, regulated the Year according to the course of the Sun, to three hundred sixty five days, and one day more to be added every fourth year, which was called the *Bissextile*, and this is the foundation of that method which we to this day follow. He added to the ten old Months two others, which are *January* and *February*, that so the Reformation he made might be just and proportionable. In the mean time, as he was no-ways beloved by those who were greatest in the Senate, though his Ordinances had no other than the publick good, they forbore not to vilify him by their Raileries; and *Cicero* amongst the rest, being

being in a place, where it was said, that the next day the sign of the Harp would be visible (*Ab*, said he) according to the Ordinance. Now, though *Cesar* had Information of their discourses, he bore it all with so great moderation, that when some other People had yet the insolence to violate his Reputation by Libels, he never so much as inquired after them. All his designs shewed the greatness of his Soul, he made a proposition for adorning of the City of *Rome* with a magnificent Temple consecrated to *Mars*, and with a Theatre. He undertook to drain the Marshes near *Rome*, and to empty the Lakes. After these Works, he was for falling upon the Parthians, to revenge the death of *Crassus*, and they being Conquered, to enter through *Hircania*, along the Banks of the Caspian Sea into *Scythia*, to open himself a way through *Germany* into *Gaul*, and so return to *Rome*. But all these Projects ended in his death. *Cesar's* good fortune, which had appeared by so many Victories, his Merit and great Abilities, supported by the affection of the People, and the love of his Souldiers had raised him to a degree above all other Romans. But as it usually happens in Commonwealths, where every one valuing himself upon his own Merit, looks upon absolute Command as a right which he one day in his turn may pretend to, that advancement had brought upon him the jealousy of all the Senators, who could respect him no o-

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ther.



therwise than the Usurper of a Rank, which they thought themselves deserved as well as he. It being certain, that in matters of Ambition as well as Interest, no Man ever thinks any thing too much for himself. In the mean while in a shamefull manner they dayly flattered his Vanity with new Honours, preferring him even in his life time in some sort amongst the Gods. They thought it not enough to cause him to be chosen Consul for ten years, and perpetual Dictatour, to give him the name of Emperour, and Father of his Countrey, and to declare his Person Sacred and Inviolable; But they ordained him also a Statue amongst those of the Kings, a Tribunal in the *Orchestra*, a Chair of Gold in the Senate, and in fine in the Shews of the Cirque, a Canopy, a Cushion, and Offerings, as to the Images of the Gods, with a Temple, Altars, as also a high Priest, and Sacrificers. Some Authours have reported that he procured these Honours by his Authority, others, that they were freely bestowed upon him. That which appears most certain is, that they were so agreed upon in the Senate, and that all those who were then present, came to him in a body to acquaint him with the Decree they had made, he was then in the Temple of *Venus*, and whether it were out of State, or for some other Reason, he received them sitting without rising up to goe and meet them. Some say that *Balbus* held him

him when he would have raised himself, others, that it was in offence to *Tributius*, who pretended to tell him what he was to do. However it was, this neglect offended the Senators, and caused them to discover their hatred, for from this time they contrived among themselves to publish abroad, how that he affected the name of King: He had indeed the power in effect, and did only want the Name, which was odious to the Romans. *Cæsar*, who very well knew how much that aversion imported, very well defended himself from it, and one day when some People called him Lord and King, he answered, *That he was Cæsar*. Nevertheless, he often let discourses fall, which very much promoted those Reports that were spread of his Ambition. He said, *That a Republick was no other than a name and mere Idea, and that Sylla had discovered himself to be very ignorant, when he renounced that of Dictator*. All these Discourses were maliciously improved, and served for great use to those who envied him. Two Adventures, which afterwards happened, contributed also very much to their Confirmation. As he returned from a publick Sacrifice upon the day of the Latine Festivals, some body had Crowned his Statue with a Laurel, bound about with a little band of white Linen, which was a sort of Diadem. *Marulla* and *Cesestius*, the Tribunes of the People, took off the Crown, and Imprisoned him who had placed

ced it there, which made *Cesar* angry, he went to the Tribunes, quarrelled with them publickly, and took away their Employments, and that Affront offered to those Magistrates, who maintained the interests of the People, provoked them against him. The other accident was yet more notorious. There was celebrated at *Rome* a Festival in Honour of the God *Pan*, which they called *Lupercalls*, in that Ceremony the young Romans of the best Quality, and who were for that year in Employments, ran naked through the City with lether Thongs, where-with they wantonly struck all those they met, and by ridiculous Superstition, the most Vertuous Women were wont to go meet them, and offer their hands to be touched with these Thongs, believing that that had the Virtue to procure them a happy Lying-in, and also make them fruitfull. *Antonius*, who was Consul, appeared upon this occasion, and *Cesar* assisted at the shew seated upon a Tribunal in a Chair of Gold, and in a habit of Triumph. *Antonius* passing through the People, who opened to the right and left to make him way, went up to the Tribunal, and presented a Crown to *Cesar*, some there were who clapped their Hands, as if they approved of it, but when *Cesar* put back the Crown, there was a general Applause, *Antonius* offered it to him a second time, but still with as little marks of satisfaction from the People, *Cesar* again refused it, which was followed with loud  
Accla-

Acclamations, *Caesar* by this understood their sentiments, which, he made use of this Tryal more clearly to inform himself of, he rose up to carry the Crown to the Capitol, but was not Master of his disorder, and said that night to his Friends, *That if he knew any man who would cut his Throat, he could now offer it to him freely.*

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CHAP.

## CHAP. LXIV.

*A Conspiracy against Cæsar. Presages of his death. He is murdered in the Senate.*

**T**HOUGH he had yet a thousand other Testimonies of the hatred he lay under, he abandoned himself so utterly to his Destiny, that from this moment he neglected any manner of security for himself against his Enemies. He was heard to say, *That he had rather fall by Treason once, than be so miserable, as to be always afraid of it.* And another time, *That the Republick had more interest than himself in his preservation, that he had gotten Glory and Power enough, but that after his death, the Commonwealth would be more harassed with Civil Wars than ever yet it had been.* And one day before his death, being at Supper with *Lepidus*, as his Friends disputed amongst themselves, whilst he was writing, what death was easiest, *It is that*, said he, turning towards them, *which is the most sudden and the least foreseen.* He disbanded his Company of Spanish Guards, and contented himself to be defended with the protection of his Friends, which facilitated an enterprize upon his life. Above threescore Senatours entred into this Conspiracy, the Principals whereof were *Brutus*, whose life *Cæsar* had saved after the Battel of *Pharsalia*, and *Cassius*, who had surrendered *Pompey's* Fleet to him in the *Hellespont*, they were both Pretors and  
 Ene.



Enemies, because that *Cæsar* had named *Brutus* for the eldest Pretor to the prejudice of *Cassius*, who was above him in Age and Dignity; the name of *Brutus* had been famous in *Rome*, ever since the \* Consul so called, who had banished the Kings. There was found written at the foot of his Statue, *WOULD TO GOD THOU WERT ALIVE*. And certain Billets were thrown into the Pretors Tribunal, wherein were written these words, *Brutus, thou art asleep and not a true Brutus*. *Cassius* was Authour of most of these things. He hated *Cæsar* for several reasons, but chiefly, because he had taken from him the Lions wherewith he intended to have given a shew to the People, so *Cæsar* mistrusted him, and when his Friends advised him to look narrowly into the Conduct of *Antonius* and *Dolabella*, *It is not*, said he, *those perfumed and plump Sparks that I distrust, but those meagre and pale Gentlemen*. He omitted not nevertheless to prepare his Expedition against the Parthians, and caused sixteen Legions to march, and Ten Thousand Horse for his going into *Asia*. His design was to depart four days after to put himself at the head of them, when the Conspiratours caused a report to be spread, that according to the *Sybil's* Oracles the Parthians could not be overcome but by a King, and that upon this pretence *Cotta* was to propose to the Senate the giving of him that Title. *Cassius* took this occasion to go and visit *Brutus*,  
de-

\* *Junius Brutus.*

demanding of him, *If he would go to the Senate upon the Ides of March, when Cæsar's Friends were to propose the declaring of him King.* Brutus said, *That he would not be there.* But replied Cassius, *if you should be called thither, Then said Brutus, I shall think it my Duty, to speak, contradict, and dye, rather than lose our liberty;* Ah, answered Cassius, *what Roman is there that would suffer you to dye for his Liberty, you are ignorant Brutus, who you are, if you believe that those Bilets which are thrown into the Tribunal, come from any mean People, and not from the most Illustrious and bravest Men of Rome. They demand from other Pretors, Games, Shews and Gladiatours, but they expect from you as a debt of Succession the ruine of Tyranny, being ready to expose themselves to all hazards for your sake, if you can find in your heart to dispose your self to their Wishes.* After this Conversation they parted, and the Name of Brutus, whose Person was very much Esteemed, engaged a great many in the Conspiracy, so they resolved to put their design in execution upon the very Ides of March, and in the Hall of the Senate.

A great many Prodigies foretold this misfortune to Cæsar, there was found in an old Tomb at *Cappua*, a place of Brasse, whereon it was written in Greek Letters, that when the Bones of *Cappys* should be found, a Man of the Race of *Julus* should be slain by the hands of his Kinsmen, and that his death should be revenged by the desolation of all *Italy*. Word was brought him, that those Horses which he had Consecrated, and let loose at the passage

sage of the *Rubicon*, had not eaten for several days, and were seen to weep. *Spurina*, a very able Diviner, told him when he Sacrificed, that great dangers threatned him upon the Ides of *March*, and upon the Eve of that day, a Wren flying into the Hall of *Pompey*, with a Branch of Laurel in her Mouth, was torn to pieces by other Birds, who pursued her from a Neighbouring Wood. He dreamt the same Night that he was carried above the Clouds, and that he shook hands with *Jove*, and his Wife *Calphurnia* dreamt also that the top of her House fell down, and that her Husband was Assassinated in her Armes, the Doors of the Chamber opening at the same time of their own accord with great noise. This last accident something confounded him, and his Wife by her Prayers and Tears, prevailed that he would not go abroad that day. But another *Brutus*, surnamed *Decimus*, who was one of the Conspiratours, though of the number of his nearest Friends, caused him to change his resolution in remonstrating to him, He was expected at the Senate, and that it would be a shame for him not to venture out of doors, but when it should please *Calphurnia* to dream favourably; so *Decimus* carried him almost by force out of his Lodgings, and as every thing seemed to contribute to his destruction, a Slave, who came to give him advice of the Conspiracy, could never get up through the croud of People that surrounded him. *Artemidorus* of *Crædus*, his Host and Friend having

ving presented him with a Memorial to the same purpose, he mingled it without reading amongst other Papers that were given him, and *Lena*, who was one of the Conspiratours, entertaining him a great while in private as he came out of his Litter; The others, who believed themselves discovered, thought already of killing themselves with the Daggers which they had under their Robes, when *Lena* quitting *Cesar*, and kissing his hand, gave them to understand that he thanked him for some favour which he came to obtain. The Assembly of the Senate was held in a place which *Pompey* had caused to be built for that purpose, and which for that reason was called the Court or Hall of *Pompey*, where was to be seen his Statue in Marble, raised upon a Pedestal, *Cesar* as he was entring, met *Spurina*, and smiling, told him, *The Ides of March were come. Yes, answered the Divinor, but they are not past.* When he had taken his place, the Conspiratours turned towards him under pretence of saluting him, and *Tullius Cymber* approached to ask pardon for his Brother, who was then in Exile, *Cesar* deferred the matter, and put back *Cymber*, who pressed upon him so far, as to take hold on both sides of his Robe, and when *Cesar* cryed out, *It was a violent Proceeding, Casca*, who was behind him, gave him the first stab with a Poniard near the Shoulder, the wound glanced, and was not mortal, *Cesar* struck *Casca* through the Arm with his Dagger, crying out, *Traitour, what dost*

*doſt thou*; *Casca* on the other ſide called his Brother, and *Cesar* would have raiſed himſelf, but he received a mortal wound in the Breſt, and all the Conſpiratours charged upon him together with ſo much fury, that many of them were themſelves wounded, he nevertheless made great reſiſtence, whirling himſelf amongſt them like a Lion, till perceiving *Brutus* with his Dagger in his hand, he then covered his Face, and wrapping himſelf in his Robe, went and fell at the Foot of *Pompey's* Statue, pierced with 24 wounds.

*In the City  
of Rome  
710, before  
the birth of  
our Saviour,  
43.*

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The End of the first Volume.

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# THE HISTORY

Of the Second

*TRIUMVIRATE.*

Down from the Death of *Cæsar*  
to that of *Brutus*.

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Volume II.

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## CHAP. I.

*The Troubles and Fears of the Senate, and the  
People of Rome after the death of Cæsar.*

**T**HE death of *Cæsar* brought so much disorder into the Senate, and amongst the People of *Rome*, that the Conspiratours soon perceived what they had done was not like to meet with any general Approbation, all the Senatours, who  
were

were not Accomplices, fled from the place of Assembly with such haste, that it had like to have cost some of them their Lives as they went out of the Doors, and the People Alarum'd at the News, left all their several Employments, some to run to the place where the Murther had been committed, and others up and down the City to inform themselves of the circumstances of the matter. The Market place was plundered, and several Senatours, who were retiring themselves in great Terror, were mischief'd in the Tumult. In the mean time *Brutus*, who was lookt upon as the chief of the Conspiracy, had done all that in him lay to qualify their fears, and after the Action had offered himself to declare the motives of it, but no body would hear him; this proceeding much surprized him, and astonish'd also the other Conspiratours, whereof *Cassius* and he were of the greatest Authority, as well by the Charges of Pretor, which they then executed, as by the particular Merit which distinguished them. *Brutus* by his Father's side descended from that other *Brutus*, who had driven the *Tarquins* out of *Rome*, and had laid the Foundations of the Commonwealth, and by his Mother *Servilia*, from *Servilius Hala*, who had slain *Me-  
lius* for having unseasonably discovered such marks of Ambition, as by no means were pleasing to the Senate, by which means it seemed as if the hatred of Tyrants had descended into the heart of *Brutus* by the  
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bloud of his Ancestours, and himself in a Letter written to Cicero, highly declared, *That he could not suffer that even his Father should have any Authority above the Laws and the Senate.* This fierce Opinion, as it might be natural to him, might also be some excuse for the violence which transported him against *Caesar*. That great Man had used him with all the tenderness of a Father, and though *Brutus* fought against him in the Battel of *Pharsalia*, gave strict Command to all his Officers to spare his life, and after the Battel having pardoned him, promoted him to the highest Dignities, and one day shewing his Breast to some People, who advised him not to trust him too far, *Do you believe then,* said he, *that Brutus cares for such poor pillage as this is?* At last, when he saw him with his Dagger in his hand, coming towards him, he cried out, *What my Son, and thou too?* These Opinions were caused by the passion that *Caesar* had had for *Servillia*, the Mother of *Brutus*, he was not ill received by her, and she took such little care to hide it, that she used to send him Letters even into the Senate. One day when it was debated there what punishment should be inflicted upon the Accomplices of *Cataline's* Conspiracy, one of these Letters was brought to *Caesar*, \* *Cato*, who <sup>\* They had</sup> was *Servillia's* half Brother, cried out, *That* <sup>both one</sup> *it contained some dangerous matter,* when *Caesar* <sup>Mother, but</sup> for his justification gave him the Tablets, <sup>two Fa-</sup> which *Cato* read to himself, and then threw <sup>thers.</sup> them back to him again, calling him *Drun-*  

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hard, but did not think fit to make any farther mention of the Letter. It was said that *Brutus* was born in the height of this Amour, so that it will need some pains to justify what he since did to *Caesar*, for that thing excepted, all his inclinations were towards Vertue, he had moderated the heat of his Temper, by applying himself to Learning, and the study of Philosophy, which though it was then divided into many Sects, he was yet acquainted with them all. He loved nothing but Glory, and avoided Pleasures, he was sober, watchfull, of an invincible Courage, Complaisant and Affable in all Conversation, and for these Qualities was beloved of the People, adored by his Friends, and esteemed even by his very Enemies. *Cassius's* Character was of a much different nature, he was very stout, and in the *Parthian War* had signalized himself by many brave Actions. He had a great and fiery Spirit, a quick and sprightly Wit, but his Warmth often carried him even into Transport and Violence. He was something suspected of Self-interest, and not over-exactness in doing Justice. In short, many are of Opinion that he conspired against *Caesar*, not so much out of the hatred of Tyranny, as for the particular Quarrel which he had against the Tyrant.



## CHAP. II.

*Brutus and Cassius endeavour to justify what they have done before the People, who rise upon them. They retire to the Capitol.*

THESE two Men went out of the Senate at the Head of the Conspiratours with their bloody Daggers in their hands, in this condition they presented themselves before the People, and in the first heat, several, who had no share in the Action, desirous to attribute some false merit of it to themselves, joyned the Conspiratours with their Swords in their hands, amongst the rest *Aquinus*, *Dollabella*, and *Pettilius*, who afterwards by their death paid dear for that impertinence, and vanity, for though they caused a Cap to be carried before them upon a Lance, as a Token of Liberty, and though *Brutus* depended upon the great Name and Example of his Ancestours, the People received them with sadness and with silence, not giving them any of those Acclamations which they expected; so they thought fit to retire to the Capitol, causing themselves to be guarded by Gladiatours belonging to another *Brutus*, surnamed *Decimus*, who was also in the Conspiracy. They were not now any longer the People, who heretofore had defended their Liberties with a Zeal transported even to Madness, all Opinions of that kind had given place to Interest, and they

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were

were better pleased with some present Gain, than any Whimsey of Dominion, by which means they were more afraid of Poverty than Subjection. *Marius, Sylla*, and some others had taught them these Maximes, and besides, several Strangers, and abundance of Freed-men being crept in amongst them, had corrupted the purity of the true Roman blood, and debauched their Noble Thoughts, nevertheless they came to the Capitol in great numbers, and *Cassius* himself ventring to come down, was received by them with Applause; this again assured the Conspirators, so they returned to the publick place, where *Brutus* was accompanied with the most considerable Men of the Senate, even to the Tribunal, wherein he designed to speak to the People. Several Authours have reported that he came onely with *Cassius*, and that their Hands were yet besmeared with *Cæsar's* blood. However it were, all they said, shewed a great deal of Resolution. They maintained that what they had done, was not onely just, but that it deserved to be rewarded, attributing the glory to one another with large and reciprocal Praises. After this, they proceeded to the Commendation of *Decimus*, who had so seasonably assisted them with his Gladiatours, and exhorted the People, *To maintain that Liberty and good Fortune which they had procured them, that they should remember how their Ancestours had heretofore expelled Kings, whose Government was no less unjust and violent than Cæsar's had been.*

been. In fine, they proposed the return of *Sextus*, the Son of *Pompey*, and to make *Celerius* and *Marullus* Tribunes of the People, who had first dared as they said, *To attack the Tyranny, in taking the Diadem from Cæsar's Statue.* The People gave great attention to their Discourse. But when \* *Cinna* advanced to speak, it soon appeared that their silence proceeded onely from that respect which they bore to the Vertue of *Brutus*. This *Cinna* had received many benefits from *Cæsar*, and even the Charge of Pretor, which was the second Dignity in the Republick; the Pretors were to distribute particular Justice, and Commanded also Armies in several Provinces that were assigned them. *Cinna* stripped himself of the Robe, which was the mark of his Dignity, and threw it from him with Contempt, saying, *That he would not be honoured with the favours of a Tyrant.* He extolled the action of the Conspiratours, and proposed that they might be rewarded with extraordinary Honours, but his discourse and behaviour appeared so odious to the People, that they were provoked against him, and interrupted him with Affronts and Curses. Nevertheless, *Dollabella* forbore not to present himself to speak after him, he was a young Man in great Esteem, and *Cicero's* Son-in-Law, *Cæsar* had designed to have left him Consul in *Rome*, when he went to the *Parthian War*, nevertheless he condemned the Memory of that great Man, and those, who during his

\* *Cornelius.*

life time had so much honoured him. He applauded the Murther, and transported himself so far as to express his sorrow for not having had a part in so glorious an Action. The commotion of the People against *Cinna*, taught *Brutus* and *Cassius* what they were to expect. They returned to the Capitol, where *Brutus* fearing to be besieged, caused several Senators, who merely in point of Honour had followed him, to return to their Houses, not thinking it just, that those who had no share in the Action, should be engaged in the danger.

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## CHAP. III.

*Antonius and Lepidus rally Cæsar's Friends.  
Some propositions of Accommodation.*

THIS News extremely rejoiced Cæsar's Friends, the chief whereof were *Marcus Antonius* and *Lepidus*. *Antonius* was very Illustrious both by his Birth and his Valour, being descended from one of the noblest Families in *Rome*, which derived it's Original from *Anton* the Son of *Hercules*. He was of a very comely Personage, upon all occasions Magnificent, and passionately beloved by the Souldiery. His bounty, and that familiarity wherewith he was wont sometimes to debauch with them, had engaged them to him. The Criticks of his Age have reproached him for being too much addicted to his Pleasures, but that inclination never hindered him from behaving himself with great resolution upon all weighty occasions, and necessity evermore awakened his Vertue. But Pleasure at last got the better of him, and cost him his life, besides, when ill Fortune had embittered his Spirit, he could not forbear discovering some inclinations towards Avarice and Cruelty. He was engaged in the Fortunes of *Cæsar*, and *Cæsar* had made him General of the Cavalry, which was the second Dignity of *Rome*, when it was under a Dictatour, and at the time of *Cæsar*'s death he was Consul. Now the Consul-



ship was the highest Dignity amongst the Romans in the time of the Commonwealth, and lasted but for one year, it was executed by two Persons who had equal Authority, who were chosen by the Voices of the People, and who Commanded within and without the City. It is true, that the Dictatour was yet above the Consul, but he was never made but upon extraordinary occasions of the greatest importance, and he it was who named the General of the Cavalry. *Sylla* first, and *Cesar* after him added to the time and duration of that Dignity, even at last to make it perpetual, but that was without Example, and they have been both reproached with it as a Tyrannical Action: *Lepidus* also was of Illustrious Extraction; very rich, and no less considerable in *Rome* for his Civility, and the great Charges that he had executed; he at this time Commanded the Cavalry by Commission, in the room of *Octavius*, *Cesar's* Nephew, whose charge it was. He was much esteemed for his honesty, but he wanted that resolution which is necessary upon all difficulties, especially amongst such People as he had to deal withall.

Both these Men were at the Senate when *Cesar* was slain. It is true that the Conspiratours who stood in fear of the vigour and courage of *Antonius*, had given charge to *Trebonius* to make use of some pretence to stop him at the Hall door, but they both got off in the throng, *Antonius* into the House  
of

of one of his Friends, and *Lepidus* into the Island made by the *Tyber*, in the middle of *Rome*, where he had a Legion of Souldiers that loved *Cesar*. He marched them into a place called the field of *Mars*, there to expect *Antonius's* Orders, who ought to Command by reason of his Dignity. When they understood the astonishment of the Senate, and how the minds of the People were disposed, they resolved to revenge the death of their Friend, while *Brutus* and those of his Party were consulting what course to take; at last the conclusion was, to send Deputies to *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, To desire them to consider the misfortune that their division might bring upon their common Countrey. The Deputies had orders to handle the Articles of *Cesar's* Murther with all niceness, That no hatred to his Person had put them upon that design, but onely the love they bore their Countrey, who had already been so drained by Civil Wars, that any new disunion must certainly carry away the miserable remainder, that they believed them also too generous to let any particular hatred transport them to the prejudice of the Publick. Yet these reasons alone were not of force enough to convince *Antonius* and *Lepidus*; but as they feared that *Sextus* might declare against them, and lest *Decimus*, who had obtained from *Cesar* the Government of the *Cisalpine Gall* should fall upon them with a powerfull Army, which he had then under his Command, they resolved to gain what time they could, and endeavour the debauching of *Decimus's* Souldiers

Souldiers, upon this resolution *Antonius* made answer to the Deputies, That for their particular Revenge they would joyfully Sacrifice it to the publick good, that indeed their Honour, and the Oath they had given to *Cæsar*, ought to engage them to revenge his death. And that they were of Opinion it was much more honourable to live without reproach amongst a few good Men, than to draw upon themselves the miseries that are due to falsehood; but as they were not obstinate, they would voluntarily consent that the Assembly should be called, and that then they might easily be governed by the advice of so many Illustrious and discerning Persons as should compose the Body of the Senate. *Antonius* received Commendation and Thanks for this answer, which the Deputies carried back to the Capitol. In the mean time *Lepidus*, by order of *Antonius*, posted that night Corps du Guard throughout all the City, while those, whose interest it was, were soliciting their affairs with their Friends. Those whom *Cæsar* had employed in his Troops, being every where heard to utter strange Threats, provided what he had promised them was not made good. *Calphurnia*, *Cæsar's* Widow, caused also that night her Money and Papers to be carried to *Antonius* his House, who as he was Consul, caused it to be Published, that he would hold the Senate in the Temple of *Tellus* near his own House.

## CHAP. IV.

*The Senate Assemblies. Diversity of Opinions  
amongst the Senators. Cæsar's Ordinances  
Ratified.*

CINNA, who the day before had thrown away his Pretor's Robe in the presence of the People, was the first that came to the place of Assembly, when Cæsar's Souldiers provoked with his presence, fell upon him with stones, following him to a House, whither he went for shelter, they would have set it on fire, if Lepidus had not hindred them, and appeased the disorder. The most violent of the Senators came not thither, being retired among the Conspiratours, and Antonius was not at all angry at it, so there appeared through all the Assembly nothing but Peace and Temper. Nevertheless Opinions were found to be very different, some praised what the Conspiratours had done, and proposed that they might be rewarded. Some again said, *That it was sufficient to approve of it without ordering Recompences, when no body demanded them.* Others equally were for throwing out both the Applauses and the Recompences, and said, *That it was sufficient if they forgot what was past, and were willing that it should be pardoned.* There were some who declared boldly, *That it was an odious action, but they would not hinder what might be done for the safety of those who had committed*

mitted it, because they belonged to the most Illustrious Families of Rome. To this it was answered, That that indemnity had already been allowed them. And when it was urged, That what they had done, could not be praised without wronging the memory of Cæsar. Others replied, That the business now in hand was not to think of the dead, but to consider the living. At last one of the company brought it to this, That they had but two things to choose, either to agree that Cæsar was a Tyrant, or that those who murdered him stood in need of pardon. All the Opinions terminated in this, so it was concluded that these two points should be debated. Then Antonius, whose business it was to draw advantage from their Division, desired them to consider, That if they condemned the memory of Cæsar, they ought also to Cancell his Orders, that that would have respect not onely to the Empire in General, but almost to every particular man there present, that some were in possession of Dignities, others of Employments, others of Governments, and all by virtue of Cæsar's Orders, that if these Orders were unjust, they ought to resolve to lay aside those honours which they could no longer think were lawfully conferred upon them. Now the first debate of all matters of Importance was evermore held in the Senate, and afterwards proposed to the People, who by their advice either confirmed or rejected the Decree, so these words of Antonius caused a great commotion in the Assembly, and here one little spark of Interest eclipsed all the plausible and high resolutions  
of



of those grave Senatours, they all rose up, crying out in confusion, *That it was insufferable that the Dignities they were invested in, should come to be Canvased amongst the People.* Especially *Dollabella*, who was designed Consul, and who indeed had need of a dispensation, being not yet qualified in age as the Law required, he who found he could not maintain himself, but by the Authority of *Cæsar*, whose Memory the day before he had violated, appeared now the most eager in his defence, and charged those with wrong doing who had praised the Murtherers of a Dictatour. Nevertheless, several Pretors threw off their Robes, which they had hopes afterwards to take up again by the Authority of the Senate. Upon this *Antonius* and *Lepidus* left the Senate, several Senatours ran after them, to desire them to return, and overtook them in sight of the People, who were assembled in a great number about the Gates of the Temple; then *Antonius* threw open his Robe, and shewed that he was armed, saying, *That he knew no other way to secure his life than that of Arms.* Several cried out, *That he ought to provide against those disorders.* Others demanded Peace; And what assurance, says he, can there be in that Peace, where even the Religion of Oaths was not of force enough to defend *Cæsar*? Then those who were for revenge, called *Lepidus*, he came down the stairs of the Temple, and getting upon the advantage of the ground, *I was*, says he, *yesterday here with Cæsar in*  
this

this very place, where I now lament his death. Upon this the outcries began again, some for Revenge, others for Peace; at last they desired him to take upon him the Dignity of Sovereign Pontifex, which Office had been Cæsar's, he begged of them, To reserve those kind thoughts they had for him, and seeing that those who inclined to Peace were the strongest Party, he said, he would be over persuaded by them against his own inclination, and returned to the Senate. The Confusion still lasted upon the place, but Antonius, who came to prove the indifference of the People for both the two Parties, and who perceived well, that it would be a difficult matter to bring the Conspiratous to punishment, made a Remonstrance, That if the memory of Cæsar were Condemned, all the Provinces of the Empire, who were governed by his Orders, would look upon themselves as disingaged of their Oath and their Obedience, that that would be in effect to proclaim so many Men of Quality as he had raised, unworthy of their Honours; that that must turn to the confusion of the Republick, and draw upon them the Contempt of Nations that were Strangers, that therefore they ought to consent that it was necessary to Ratify the Ordinances of Cæsar; but that to observe how Ridiculous 'twould appear at the same time to give Praises and Rewards to his Murderers. For all this, he would not oppose the Compassion which pleaded for their Pardon, in consideration of their Relations, provided that it might appear done at the Petition of their Families, that he himself had there consented to it, not that he by  
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any means thought it agreeable to Justice, but for the publick Quiet. So his advice was followed, and the Decree passed in those terms, there were onely added the names of such who had had employments, and other honours as they particularly had desired.

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## CHAP. V.

*New Divisions occasioned by Cæsar's Will. Brutus and Cassius speak to the People in their own justification. They come to an agreement with Anthony and Lepidus.*

THIS Proceeding redounded much to Antonius's Reputation, for he had discharged himself of this business with a great deal of Address and Industry, though very many, and amongst the rest, even Cicero himself were of opinion, That he thought more of his pleasure than the business of the Commonwealth. The Senatours went home to their Houses very well satisfied, when streight a new difficulty arose. Piso declared, That having the Will of Cæsar in his possession, he had given it into the protection of the Vestals, with orders to return it into his hands. It was told him, That the Will must not be produced, and that it would be very improper to doe him Funeral Honours, since it might produce fresh Tumults. Piso was Cæsar's Father-in-Law, and for that reason engaged both in Honour and Friendship

to

to see his last will put in execution, he answered, *That he would discharge himself of what he owed to his Son-in-Law and his Friend; and when it was answered him, That what Cæsar disposed of, was the Goods which belonged to the Republick, which by this means was robbed of its right, and that he should be called to an account for his proceedings.* These threatnings caused him to demand of the Consuls, *That they would assemble the Senators which were yet present.* So they returned to the Temple, where *Piso delivered himself in these terms, I am sorry to see that the number of Cæsar's Murderers increases each moment, and that far from being satisfied with the cruel death which they have made him suffer, they yet desire that the body of a Sovereign Pontifex should be deprived of the Honours of Funeral, which were never refused to the meanest Man; they forbid me with Threatnings to publish his Will, they would divide his Fortune amongst them as the estate of a Tyrant, and which is most surprizing of all, those very men who come to Ratify what he hath Ordained in the Commonwealth, endeavour to suppress what he hath disposed in particular, and though it be neither Cassius nor Brutus themselves that declare these Opinions, it is easie to believe that those who maintain it, are influenced by them.* However it be, order you what you please as to Cæsar's Funeral, but for his Will I shall remain Master of that, and so long as I have breath, will never betray that Confidence and Trust which he reposed in me. This discourse occasioned a fresh Contest, those who believed they might

might be concerned in it, were for the Will, so it was ordered that it should be Published, and that Funeral Honours should be given to *Cæsar* at the expence of the Publick. *Brutus* and his Friends were soon advised of these Proceedings, so they judged it convenient to prevent the minds of the People, and for this design sent to desire them that they would come to the Capitol. When they were assembled there in a great number, *Brutus* presenting himself, said, *That they were not retired to that place as Offenders, who sought a Sanctuary, but to prevent the misfortunes that might arise from the Affront which had been done to Cinna, that they had understood how their Enemies spoke of the death of Cæsar, as of a great Crime which broke all those measures that could be taken with them for their safety, that this discourse obliged them to declare their Innocence and good Intentions, that since the death of Pompey, Cæsar had always acted as an open Tyrant, that he had disposed of great Charges and principal employments of his own head, and without the advice of the Senate; that he had turned two Tribunes out of their Offices, for no other reason than that they had taken the Crown from one of his Images, that by that means he was the first that had attempted to violate that respect which was due to Sacred Persons. Besides, that they did not believe any Oath was of force enough to oblige the maintenance of Tyranny, that in all other occasions their words should be Sacred and Inviolable; that for the rewards which Cæsar had promised, they were resolved to allow of them*



in the name of the Commonwealth, that those who had already received Inheritances, should continue in the possession of them, and that such as had had their Lands taken from them, should have their Losses repaired out of the first money that came in to the publick Treasury. This discourse was received with Acclamations, and the People admired the resolution of the Conspiratours, so by this means their minds being turned wholly in their favour, the next day in the Assembly of the Senate, *Cicero's* Eloquence found it no hard matter to persuade, That all which had passed might be forgotten. His advice was seconded by *Plancus*, so an Amnesty or Act of Oblivion was published. *Antonius* and *Lepidus* sent their Children to the Capitol as Hostages for the Conspiratours security; so *Brutus* descended with all his Accomplices. At last for a Testimony of a sincere Reconciliation, *Antonius* entertained *Cassius* at Supper, and *Brutus* was at home with *Lepidus*. These last, who were Wise Men, parted very well in appearance, but as *Anthony* was a Laugher, and *Cassius* given to be Cholerick, their Conversation was not without some sharpness. *Antonius* asked *Cassius*, If he had not got a concealed Dagger? Yes, answered *Cassius*, and a sharp one too for those who dare aspire to the Tyranny, which answer it is believed put a stop to any farther Jestings.

## CHAP. VI.

*Cæsar's Will read publicly. Antonius makes his Funeral Oration.*

THE fire of Division began to be apparent to all such as could discern any thing, the minds of the People were so well disposed, that they doubted not but the Commonwealth would soon recover its ancient Majesty. But those who judged better were not so deceived, and amongst others, *Atticus*, the particular Friend of *Cicero*, this was a Roman Knight of the first of that Order, which was distinguished from that of the Senators, the softness of his Inclination, and the weakness of his Constitution had hindered him from signalizing himself in Wars, but the qualifications of his Mind, his Honesty and his Sincerity, made him be considered as a Man of great Merit, and gained him many noble Friends; and though he had some in all Parties, and that the opposite Interest which imbroiled them, had raised amongst them mortal hatreds, *Atticus* behaved himself evermore with such dexterity, that he preserved his interest in them all. This management preserved him from the miseries of the age he lived in, and gave him at last the Honour of seeing his Family Allied to the *Cæsars*, which considering the fury of the Civil Wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, that of the Triumvirate, and that

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which followed, and how many noble Persons perished in these Divisions, I know not where we can find an Example like him. *Cicero* was of no great Birth, and had been often reproached for the Novelty of his Nobility, but the Beauty of his Wit, his Eloquence, wherein he exceeded the best Orators of those times, when that qualification was in its highest lustre, and a certain kind of Courage which rendred him fearless upon every occasion, that required not the drawing of his Sword, and where he managed the interest of the Commonwealth, had raised him to the highest Honours, he discharged the Consulship with a great deal of Glory, in putting a stop to *Catiline's* Conspiracy, so that in speaking of it, he almost made himself ridiculous and insupportable to his Friends, even *Brutus* could not forbear rallying of him for it very sharply in a Letter which he wrote to *Atticus*, and which is still extant. *Atticus* therefore, who knew how little assurance was to be had from the inconstancy of the People, could not forbear declaring to his Friends his fears, lest the opening of *Caesar's* Will, and the publick Honours that were to be done him, should occasion new Troubles. His apprehensions were but too well grounded, for *Piso* brought the Will, which was opened in *Antonius's* House, and read in the presence of the People. *Octavius* the Grand-son of *Julia*, *Caesar's* Sister, was by it Adopted to take upon him his Name, and constituted Heir of nine parts of his Estate,

Estate, and \* *Pinarius* and *Pedius* of three other parts. To the Roman People he left the Gardens, which he had on the other side of the *Tiber*, and to every Citizen in particular 24 Drachma's. Amongst his second Heirs who were to inherit in case of Mortality according to Custome, he substituted *Decimus Brutus*, who was one of the Conspiratours. Several others also who had dipped their hands in his bloud, were named for Tutours to his Son, in case he had left one. At these Tokens of *Cesar's* Goodness, and his Affection for the People, none could forbear their Tears and Lamentations. But *Decimus*, his being substituted an Heir, provoked the Indignation of the whole Assembly. After this, *Piso* caused the Body to be brought forth with a great deal of Pomp, those who carried it were all Men in Office, and of the most Illustrious in the Senate. It was set down in the middle of the *Forum*, upon a place called the *Rostra*, with a guard of Armed Souldiers, in this place there was erected a little Temple of gilded Wood, according to the Model of that of *Venus*, which they called the Mother, because the Family of *Julus*, which was the name of the *Cesars*, pretended to have their Original from that Goddess. In this little Temple was a Bed of Ivory, Magnificently Adorn'd with Curtains of Cloth of Gold and Purple, at the head of the Bed was a Trophy, with the Rôbe which he wore when he was assassinated. For the Pile, it was prepared

\* *Lucius Pinarius, and Quintus Pedius were also Cesar's Grand Nephews.*

in the Field of *Mars*. All the People ran to see this sight, weeping and lamenting a new, even those who bore Arms made a great noise, as if they demanded Vengeance. Now the Custome among the Romans was, that one of the Kinsmen of the dead Man, one of his Friends, or at least one of his Brethren in Office, should speak in his Praise. *Antonius*, who was Consul with *Cesar*, when he was slain, was his Friend also, and his Ally, so he laid hold of that occasion for the improvement of what he designed, *Gentlemen*, said he, though I alone present my self to praise the Memory of that great Man, whose Body you see here before you, methinks I reade in your faces that upon this occasion you are all of the same Opinion with me, and that there is not one of those who hears me now, but in his heart praises him also. By this means, when I shall recount to you his great Actions, his Vertues, and then those Honours wherewith the Senate and you afterwards have Rewarded them, I shall not speak onely what I think my self, but moreover as your Interpreter. Then he made a report of all those Titles of Honour which had been given to *Cesar*, his Dictatourship, his being several times Consul, with the Name of the Father of his Countrey, from thence he passed on to his Vertues, praising his Courage, his Eloquence, his Humanity, and his Mildness, which was so great, said he, that he was never able to withhold his good inclinations, even from those who had offended him. After this, he repeated the Oath which the People of Rome had made to



to Cæsar, by which they swore, *That his Person should be Sacred and Inviolable, and took the Gods to Witness, that they would defend it with the hazard of their lives.* But observing at this discourse some alteration in several of the Senators, he concluded with saying, *That what had been done ought to be forgotten, that it was the Crime of some Demons that were Enemies to Rome, rather than Men, and that nothing now ought farther to be thought of, than the Honouring of the Memory of the Illustrious Dead, and placing him amongst the Gods.*

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## CHAP. VII.

*The Pomp of Cæsar's Funeral. The Rising of the People of Rome, and their Fury against the Conspirators.*

WHILE this Discourse lasted, one of those who were called *Archimimi*, ( who assisted where great Men were to attend, and often represented them ) as if some Fury had possessed him, tore *Cæsar's* Robe off from the Trophy, and shewed it to the People, crying out, *That it was the spoil of a Person beloved of the Gods, and revered of all the People even to Adoration.* He added several things of the like nature in a terrible Tone, and weeping between while with Outcries, and strange postures of Sorrow, which stirred up the compassion of the People. At the same time was to be seen the Figure of *Cæsar* in Wax, which moved it self by Springs, and shewed the Wounds which he had received upon his face, and in his Body, this sight transported the People even to Madness, they cried out, *They would inflict most cruel punishments on those that had murdered him.* Some proposed the burning the Body in the Capitol, to doe him the more Honour, others said, *That that duty ought to be paid him in the Hall of Pompey,* when two Armed Men carrying each of them two Javelins, set fire with Flambeaus to the little Temple where the Bed was, so every

every Body ran thither, some with the first bits of Wood they could get together, others with the Benches and Chairs of the Magistrates, who held Courts of Justice in that place, so that the Body, the Bed, and the Temple were all consumed in a moment. All Authours agree in this, but *Plutarch* says, *That he who shewed Cæsar's Robe to the People, was Antonius himself.* Now as the commotion of a furious People runs always to extremity, many round about the Funeral Pile took up flaming Brands, and ran to set fire to the Conspiratours Houses, who being all of the most Illustrious Families of *Rome*, by the great number of their Domesticks repulsed the Violence, so the People retired with terrible Threats, which very much affrighted them, they reasonably judged that there was no longer safety for them in the City, especially after an extraordinary Accident which arrived at the same time. One of *Cæsar's* Friends, who was a Versifier, and to his Misfortune, called *Cinna*, had dreamt the night before that *Cæsar* had invited him to Supper, and upon his refusal had taken him by the hand, and forcibly dragged him into a dark place, this dream had given him a Fever, nevertheless that hindred him not from rising to go and pay his last Offices to his Friend, he came just in the nick of time, when the People were returning in rage from the Conspiratours Houses, when some body unluckily called him by his Name, and that Name so odious for the sake of the other

other *Cinna*, who had made an Oration the day before, was as a signal for them to fall upon him with such rage, that the poor Wretch was torn in a thousand pieces in a moment. There are a hundred other instances how much *Caesar* was beloved, the old Souldiers, who had served under him, threw into the fire all their Coronets, Pikes, Bracelets, and other Tokens of Honour which he had given them. A great many Ladies of Quality also threw in their Childrens Robes and Ornaments, with every thing which they had of Value about them. All the Strangers who were at *Rome*, mourned after their Customs, and particularly the Jews, who watched several nights at the Pile. At last Divine Honours were given him, and an Altar was erected in the place where he had been burnt, and where *Octavius Caesar*, since called *Augustus*, caused a Temple to be built, and a Pillar of Jaspar, twenty foot high, with this Title, *To the Father of his Countrey*.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*The Artifices of Antonius. He procures himself Guards. Brutus and Cassius withdraw from Rome. Antonius gets the Government of Macedonia for his Brother. Cyrene is given to Cassius, and Bithynia to Brutus.*

THE Commotions and Fury of the People made the Senators very much suspect the Conduct of *Antonius*, who had still need of their favour, so he resolved to regain it by a desperate undertaking, which happened to please them. *Amatius*, who called himself the Son of *Marius*, committed great disorders in the City with some People whom the reputation of his Father had gathered about him. *Antonius* caused him to be apprehended and slain without more formality. The Senate approved the Action, since it assured the Conspirators, amongst the others *Brutus* and *Cassius*, whom those Mutineers had threatened. But the manner of this Proceeding did not please them, and *Antonius's* boldness made them afraid. *Amatius* his People publicly complained, and Assembled themselves about the Altar of *Cesar*, whence *Antonius* and his Collegue *Dollabella* caused the Souldiers to disperse them, and *Dollabella* erected a Statue with this Inscription, *To the good Father*, which very much displeased *Cicero*. This provoked the Mutineers, they came together the next day



day in the same place where they appeared, washing the foot of the Altar and the Statue with their tears; at last their Compassion was turned into Madnes, and they ran to the place where the Image which *Dollabella* had set up, was guarded, to set it on fire, but *Dollabella* commanded them to be fallen upon, where many were killed, and of those who were taken, the Slaves by his order were hanged, and the others thrown down Rocks. This Chastisement appeased the Sedition, but it made the Consuls hatefull to the People. *Antonius* preserved himself well with the Senate, and to gain them intirely, proposed the recalling of the young *Pompey*, and that some Recompence might be allotted him for the loss of his Father's Estate, and the Command of the Fleets put into his hands. These things extremely pleased all the Senatours to see the safety of *Brutus* and the other Conspiratours, as well as the Authority of *Pompey's* Party established. *Cicero* praised *Anthony*, and in an Eloquent Oration thanked him in the Senate; *Anthony* took this occasion to demand Guards for the safety of his Person, nor was there any who durst refuse it a Magistrate who had sacrificed himself to the hatred of the People for the interest of the Senate. Upon this pretence he raised about 6000 Men, all old Souldiers, who had served under *Julius Caesar*, and almost all of them Men fit to Command. This was the first, but not the onely step which the Senate made against their own  
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Interest, and it was wonderfull to see the most discerning Persons of so refined an age act with so much inconstancy as then appeared in all their proceedings. But they soon repented of what they had agreed to, and it was remonstrated to *Antonius*, That so great a number of Guards were but unprofitable as well as odious. He promised to reduce them when the hatred of the People should be appeased. In the mean time he gained to his interest *Cæsar's* Secretary, called *Faberius*, and by that means made himself Master of all his Memorials. Now there had been published a general approbation of all that *Cæsar* had ordained, and under this pretence *Antonius* by the help of the Secretary brought into the Senate People wholly in his Interest, he called home the banished Men, created new Officers, and all, said he, in pursuance of *Cæsar's* Memorials, which he fashioned according to his fancy; the People laughed at these Officers and new Senators, calling them \* *Charonites*, and all this was the occasion that new distrusts arose, and those of the Conspiratours, to whom *Cæsar* had given Governments, withdrew themselves, *Decimus* into the *Cisalpine Gall*, which is to say, *Piedmont*, the Countrey of *Milan*, and all that which is called *Lombardy*, *Tribonius* into *Asia*, *Kimber* into *Bithynia*, *Brutus* and *Cassius* had *Macedonia* and *Syria*. They would not yet abandon the City and their Friends, so they tryed if they could make their Authority prevail as they were Pretors, but as they

\* By reason of *Charon's* Bark that *Cæsar* had passed in.

they could not secure themselves of the minds of the People, they lived as private Men, and wrote to their Friends to fortify in their Provinces. The Proceedings of *Antonius* increased dayly their Suspensions, and that private life of theirs seemed a kind of dishonour to the Senate, whose Idols (to speak properly) they were, so they were ordered to go and procure Victualling and Provisions of Corn for the City, to the end that they might have a plausible pretence of quitting it, and afterwards retire themselves to their Governments, without making their Retreat look like a flight. Of this *Antonius* failed not to make good advantage, his two Brothers, surnamed *Cajus* and *Lucius*, were the one Pretor, and the other Tribune, so that he being Consul, the Authority of these three great Offices made him almost absolute in the Government of the Commonwealth. He had an inclination to the Government of *Syria*, but he saw very well that the asking of it would onely increase the distrust of the Senate, where already many designs were on foot against his Interest, and which also he was very well informed of. *Dolabella* his Colleague in the Consulship had been drawn into that business, but *Antonius*, who knew his Unconstancy and his Ambition, cunningly persuaded him to demand the Government of *Syria*, and the Army which *Cesar* had prepared against the Parthians. The young Man ran presently into the snare, and when it was Remonstrated to him, *That that*  
Propo-

Proposition was contrary to the Ordinances of *Cæsar*; He answered, That *Cæsar's* design was to make War upon the *Parthians*, that as to his Decrees, *Cassius* had first mistaken them in permitting the old Soldiers to sell the Inheritances which had been given them, and which *Cæsar* had expressly forbidden, that for what remained, it would be an affront to him to believe that *Cassius* had any advantage over him either in Courage or in Conduct. The Senate thus intangled, went another way to work, they resolved to persuade one of the Tribunes, called *Aspinas*, to find out some Religious reason for the opposing of this Proposition, when it should come before the People under the pretence of Thunder, or some other unlucky Omen. All the Roman Histories are full of this kind of Superstition, and after this manner the People fancied to themselves either fortunate or unlucky Presages upon unlucky Omens, their Assemblies always separated, and the squeeking of a Mouse would frequently fright them from their debates of the highest importance. The Cunning Men made the right use of this weakness, when any thing was proposed which did not please them, and this was the design of the Senate, which they thought ought to have been promoted by *Antonius*, he being one of the College of *Augures* (who were a certain sort of Dignitaries that judged of these kind of Omens) and who they imagined wished the Government of *Syria* for himself. But these were false measures, for *Antonius* seized upon

upon the Tribune as an Impostour, and was the occasion that *Dolabella* got the Province, and the Army afterwards. He demanded *Macedonia* for his Brother *Cajus*, which none durst refuse him. All that the Senate could doe, was to put the Friends of *Brutus* and *Cassius* also upon demanding other Provinces instead of those that had been taken from them, which they obtained, to *Cassius* was given *Cyrene* upon the Coast of *Africa*, with that of *Crete*, at present called *Candia*, and *Bithynia* to *Brutus*.

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## CHAP.



## CHAP. IX.

*Octavius the grand Nephew of Cæsar, comes to Rome against the Opinion of his Kindred, he declares himself Cæsar's Heir, and takes upon him his Name.*

IN the mean time news arrived at Rome, that *Octavius* the grand Nephew of *Cæsar*, whom he had Adopted and declared his chief Heir, was coming to enter upon his Succession. *Octavius*, so famous since by the Name of *Augustus Cæsar*, was of a very Ancient and Illustrious Family in *Italy*, but he came out of a branch of that Family which had not been much advanced. He was handsome, and so very beautifull, that it acquired him Veneration, he had a great deal of Wit, which was subtile and cunning, a lofty Mind, of extreme Wisedom, and very insinuating Conversation. *Cæsar*, who had not any nearer Kinsman, took a great deal of care of his Education, and he improved so well under so good a Master, that his Merit advanced him to the Empire of the World. He governed with so great Wisedom and Moderation, that the Prudence and Mildness of *Augustus* have been ever since wished to his Successours: though he was now but very young, his Unkle caused him to exercise the charge of General of the Cavalry for one complete year, and afterwards sent him to *Appollonia*, a City upon  
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the Coast of *Epirus*, to complete his Studies and his Exercises, thither came to him dayly the principal Commanders of the Troops of that Province, and even the Souldiers also to make their Court to him, and entertain him with Combates and Games; after having staid about six months in that City, he understood the death of *Cesar*, and all his Friends advised to seek Protection from the Troops of that Province, who had served under *Cesar*, and still honoured his Memory. His Mother was Married again to a Man of Quality, called *Martius Philippus*, so they both wrote to him by way of advice, *To undertake nothing that might bring trouble upon him, but that he would take warning by his Uncle, and come to Rome to them, where he might lead a quiet and peaceable life, and that they would take care of his preservation.* These different Counsels were enough to intangle a Man who was now but eighteen years of Age. But of all the Counsels that were proposed to him, he resolved upon the most honest and the most generous, which was, *To revenge the death of his Uncle*, so he put himself on Ship-board, and came and landed at a certain little Town near *Brundisium*, where he was informed of what had been done at *Rome* since the death of *Cesar*, and though he had received fresh Letters from his Mother, nevertheless fully resolved to declare himself Heir to the Fortune and Name of *Cesar*. With this design he went to *Brundisium*, after being first well assured that none of the Murtherers of his Uncle

Unkle were in the place, such of *Cæsar's* old Souldiers as were Quartered in that City, came out to meet him, and did him Honours as the Son of their General. He made a Sacrifice to the Gods, and after having according to the Roman Custome taken upon him the Name of his Adoptive Father; all his Friends, his Slaves, his Freed-men, and many other Souldiers came to him upon the News. The very Arms, Money and Provision which were sent to the Troops of *Macedonia*, were brought to him, and this happy beginning put him upon his march towards *Rome*, in his Journey thither he saw *Cicero*, who avoided the calling of him *Cæsar*, though every body else at that time did it, because, says he, in a Letter Philip himself did not doe it, and that no good Citizen ought so long as he is attended with such as threaten our Friends. Nevertheless he remained not long in this Opinion, and *Octavius* arriving at last at *Rome*, declared to his Friends, That notwithstanding their fears, he could not but think himself unworthy of life, should he not use his utmost indeavours to revenge the death of *Cæsar*. It is said, that his Mother imbraced him at these words, and approved of his Design. Now *Antoni* had sent no body out to meet him, which coldness of proceeding much augmented the fears of young *Cæsar's* Friends. But he declared how he thought it very just that a young Man, of but a private condition as he was, should make the first steps towards *Antoni*, who was his Senour, and a

Consul; so he besought his Friends to bear him company to that visit the next morning, who all attended him accordingly; as he was going thither, he met *Cajus, Antonius* his Brother, who was Pretor, and took that occasion to declare to him his Adoption, and caused it to be registred according to Custom.

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## CHAP. X.

*Octavius visits Antonius, who receives him very ill. His demands, and Antonius his Answer.*

**O***ctavius* was forc't to wait a great while at *Antonius's* Gate, who nevertheless at last received him with a great deal of Complement and Ceremony, after which they were come to the Point. Young *Cæsar* began, and highly praised *Antonius*, to whom he confessed he had many obligations, after which, he modestly complained to him, *For that he had suffered a Pardon to pass for Cæsar's Murderers, whom he might have punished with as much severity, and as Arbitrarily as he had done Amatius. That he had also gone farther, and given his advice for the allotting of them Provinces and Governments, when he himself presided in the Senate as Consul. He handsomely represented to him Cæsar's Friendship, and the good Offices he had done him, adding, That Cæsar would have adopted him, had he*

he not been persuaded that a Man, as he was, descended from Hercules, would have made a scruple of, entering into the Family of Aeneas: He conjured him by the Memory of his Father to assist him in revenging his death, at least not to oppose the design he had of proceeding in it. He gave him to understand that he was resolved to satisfy what was stipulated in the Will, and to distribute amongst the People and the Souldiers what Cæsar had left them. Nevertheless, having little Fortune of his own, he desired him to deliver him fourteen hundred and fifteen thousand Crowns out of the Money which Cæsar had left, and to lend him as much more out of the publick stock as he should have occasion for. That for the Moveables and Goods, them he might keep, he being contented to allow them as marks and remembrances of Cæsar's affection. Antonius amazed at the young Man's Confidence, and being piqued at the last Article of his discourse, told him, That there might have been some reason for what he urged, had Cæsar left him heir of the Roman Empire as well as of his Name and Fortune, but that the Sovereign Authority had no Title of Succession in Rome, and that therefore he ought not to demand reasons of him for what he had done in the Government of the Commonwealth. That for the obligations which he thought he owed him, he was willing to dispense with them, since what he had done was without any prospect of his Service, and onely designed for the good of his Country. That nevertheless he had not forgotten Cæsar's Friendship, but had secured to him those Honours due to his Memory, even to the hazard



of his own life. That for the rest, he had permitted it, because 'twas not in his power to have opposed it without declaring himself a Friend to Tyranny. That nevertheless his want of experience was excusable, which had hindered him from taking these things into his consideration, though it would require some to be sensible that the advantages arising to him from his Succession to Cæsar, did onely in part belong to him, that he was not at all jealous of his good Fortune, though by his own Confession, it might as well have happened to himself, since Cæsar would have adopted him, had he not been of the Race of Hercules. That as to Cæsar's Money, it did not amount to so great a sum as he imagined, a great part of it belonging to the publick, which he had given his orders for inquiring into, since Cæsar himself (had he lived) would not have taken it ill to have been made accountable that another part had been divided amongst the Officers, besides Dollabella his Brother, and himself, who had refused the receiving any of it. That in truth he had distributed it amongst those to whom Cæsar had ordained it, and was ready to put the remainder into his hands, but that if he were wise, he would employ it for the satisfaction of such as had reason of complaint either against his Father or himself, and for the sending back that shoal of followers who accompanied him into their Colonies, rather than give it to the People, it being a surprizing thing that a man so knowing as he was in the Grecian History, should seem to rely upon popular affection, which was more unconstant than the Waves of the Ocean.

## CHAP. XI.

*Octavius falls out with Antonius. He gains the affections of the People. Antonius sends for the Macedonian Army into Italy.*

THESE words, and this proceeding of *Antonius* offending young *Caesar*, he took his leave of him, repeating several times as he went out of the door the name of his Father, so he resolved to convert all his own Fortune, and what more amounted to him from his Succession to *Caesar* into ready Money, by that means to put himself into a condition of satisfying the People, and gaining their favour, whereof he knew that *Antonius* had but a small share, by reason of his Inquisition into the publick Money. This design of his made the Senate afraid of him, though they were not at all disturbed to see him fall out with *Antonius*, because they hoped that that Division might weaken them both, and so make their Ruine more easie, and that the publick Treasury would be improved by what should arrive to it out of *Caesar's* Estate. Now the time was come, that *Brutus* was to give the Games, these Games were certain magnificent Shews which the Magistrates at the going out of their Offices gave for the Divertisement of the People. There were to be seen the Combats of Gladiatours bred up and taught to cut one anothers Throats on purpose,

upon these occasions, the huntings of wild Beasts, every thing that could be found rare throughout the Provinces, Comedies, and Musick Prizes. In short, the expences of it would appear incredible to any who have not been acquainted with the greatness and riches of *Rome*. *Brutus* to be sure had spared no cost for the setting out of his Games, his Friends hoping that by that Magnificence he might regain the Friendship of the People. Nevertheless they durst not counsel him to appear there, because they were advised that a great number of *Cesar's* old Souldiers flocked dayly to *Rome*. In effect, young *Cesar* having sold all he had, and distributed it amongst the most Factionous of the People, proceeded now to selling the Goods of his Mother and Father-in-Law, forcing *Pedius* and *Pinarus* his Co-heirs in the Succession of *Cesar*, to quit their parts to him, which he also sold, and immediately distributed accordingly. These things made a great noise amongst the People, who believed themselves now more obliged to him than to the very *Cesar*, who had left them the Money. The Souldiers came also from all parts of *Italy* to partake of his liberality; so that though *Brutus* his Games were very Magnificent, and the People extremely pleased with them, his Friends no sooner demanded that he and *Cassius* might be recalled home, but *Cesar's* Party put a stop to the Shews, and would not let them go on till that request were absolutely rejected.

jected. It was easie to perceive that this refusal was the work of young *Caesar*, and those who before wondred at his boldness for making Head against *Anthony*, were now as much surprized at his Address also and Power. By this means *Brutus* and *Cassius* lost all hopes of returning to *Rome*, and went one into *Macedonia*, and the other into *Syria*, they pretended that *Caesar* had allotted them those Provinces which had since been unjustly taken from them, and *Dollabella*, whose interest was *Syria*, departed with all diligence to take possession of his Government. *Antonius* very well knew at this time that he had need of new Forces, he had his Eyes upon the Army which was in *Macedonia*, composed of six Legions of seasoned Souldiers, abundance of Lancers and Cavalry, with a great Equipage of Engines, and all sorts of Ammunition, he was afraid lest *Dollabella* should take these Troops, and carry them against the Parthians, so he resolved to send for them into *Italy*, and (to keep them the mean while in *Macedonia*) caused a report to be spread, that the *Geta* had made an incursion there with great powers. Now as his Brother was already Governour of that Province, it was his Opinion that the Command of those Troops would not be deny'd him for the making head against those Barbarians, when the Senate made an Order, that some body should be sent to inquire into the truth of that news. So *Antonius* taking notice how his Plot had alarum'd them, and that

that they were afraid lest he should make himself Dictatour, proposed, *That that Office might be abolished for ever with free liberty to kill and destroy whomsoever should have the boldness to offer at it.* This Proposition so agreeable to all Parties, confirmed the Senate, when at last by under-hand management, and presents which he made, *Antonius* obtained the Command of the Army. He sent his Brother *Cajus* in all diligence to acquaint the Troops with the Decree of the Senate, with private orders to bring them into *Italy*, so those Deputies who had been sent to inquire into the state of that Province, returned and brought word that the *Getae* were not yet entred there, but that an eruption of them was expected.

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## CHAP. XII.

*Antonius demands the Government of the Cisalpine Gaul. He offends young Cæsar. The Soldiers oblige him to an agreement with him. Antonius gets the Government.*

IN the mean time *Brutus* and *Cassius* made preparations for War, and *Tribonius*, whom they had sent into *Asia*, fortified the places of that Countrey, while *Antonius* Triumphed at *Rome*, all his Artifices succeeded in the Senate, and he thought there was nothing now which he might not hope for, *Gaul*, where *Decimus* Commanded, appeared very convenient for his designs, so he was not afraid to demand the Government of it out of the confidence he had in his Authority. This Proposition began to open the Eyes of the Senators, who now saw openly the Ambition of *Antonius*, so they absolutely rejected his Demands, and sent Deputies to *Decimus*, to advise him, To strengthen himself against the pretensions of *Antonius*, who was now resolved to obtain that from the People, which had been refused him by the Senate. But to the end that he might first try all means of preserving himself in their favour, he took an occasion of falling out with young *Cæsar*, whose Power already began to be formidable. *Critonius*, who was *Ædilis*, was to give Games to the People, according to the Custom I before mentioned. It was Ordained,

ned, That the Image of *Cæsar* should assist at all the Shews, placed in a Magnificent Seat, and Crowned with Gold. Now as his Adopted Son caused the Seat to be brought, *Critonius* opposed him upon the place, saying, *He would not allow that Cæsar should be honoured at his expence.* Young *Cæsar* made his Complaints of this to the Consul, who was *Antonius*, but he refused to doe him Justice, saying, *That it was none of his business to interpose in that matter;* at which, *Octavius* being provoked, fiercely replied, *In spite of the uneasiness of those Men who are thus impertinently squeamish, my Father's Image shall appear in the place that is designed for it, nay, and by your own Decree too.* These words offended *Antonius*, or rather to speak properly, *Antonius* had a mind to be offended: so he reproached young *Cæsar*, that all his Proceedings tended to the stirring up of the People, and threatened him to commit him to Prison, forbidding him at last to bring his Father's Image, not onely to *Critonius* his Games, but even to those which *Cæsar* himself was to exhibit in Honour of his Father before the Temple of *Venus*. These prohibitions appeared so full of Injustice and Violence, that they extremely exasperated the People, so young *Cæsar* made the right use of the Quarrel, for he went into the publick Places, where he complained of the injury done to the Memory of his Father. *Wherefore*, said he, (as if *Antonius* had been himself present) *should thy hatred to me extend it self to Cæsar, who*  
*has*

has deserved so well of thee? I am ready joyfully to Sacrifice my self to thy Revenge, provided thou wilt have regard to the Memory of my Father, who preferred thee above all other Friendships; I here to thy insatiable Avarice freely abandon all the Fortune which he left to me, onely permit me enough wherewith to satisfy his last desires, I beg this of thee for the Peoples sake, and not my own, for I shall think my self rich and honourable enough if I can but doe Justice to his Memory in distributing amongst the People what he has left them. This discourse was immediately spread all over the City, and made so great impression, that *Antonius* began to be desperate, and threatned Revenge. When *Caesar's* Friends, and even the old Souldiers, whom *Antonius* had taken for his Guards, remonstrated to him, How shamefull it was in this manner to wrong the Memory of their General as well as his own, since it would turn at last to their confusion, and purchase him but little Honour. As he had need of these People, he thought fit to hearken to them, and after having complained of young *Caesar's* Proceedings, whom he accused of Arrogance, and aspiring to an equality with himself, who was elder than he, and of an established Reputation, he said, That he was willing that all things might be forgotten in compliance to the desires of so many brave men. He had besides this, another reason for his compliance. He was now to try what Reputation *Caesar* had amongst the People, which he pretended he would make use of for his assistance in getting the Province

vince of *Gall*, so the Souldiers obliged them to see one another, and they parted good Friends. Immediately *Antonius* caused the Law to be published for his Government, and notwithstanding all the Senate could doe with the Tribunes, *Caesar's* underhand management with the People, the many Armed Souldiers which he brought to the Assembly in favour of *Antonius* against *Decimus*, who had been one of his Father's Murtherers, and *Antonius's* Money, where-with he had corrupted the Tribunes, made the Law pass, and he got the Government.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. XIII.

*New Quarrels between Antonius and Cæsar.  
Cicero declares himself for Cæsar. He  
offends Antonius in his Orations.*

**A**NTONIUS having now gotten what he wished for, began to contrive according to his Maximes how to restore himself with the Senate, and whether it were that he little valued young *Cæsar*, or whether it were by a secret motion of that Antipathy which afterwards so much declared it self, and was at last the cause of his destruction, he seemed not to take much care how he disgusted him, so he might re-unite himself with the Senate. It is true, that there was a strong opposition between these two Spirits, but *Cæsar's* had the advantage, and there runs a story upon this occasion, that a certain famous Egyptian Astrologer told him one day in the presence of *Cleopatra*, That his Fortune, which was so Illustrious at present, should lose all its splendour when it came near to that of *Cæsar*, and therefore advised him always to shun that young man as much as possible; because, said he to *Antonius*, thy Genius is afraid of his. In effect, notwithstanding all the Alliances which their common interest could form between them, they were always embroiled till the death of *Antonius*. The pretence they now took was this, one of the Tribunes of the People being dead, *Cæsar*



*far* recommended *Flaminius* to the place, this made the People believe that he had a mind to it himself, and gave him to understand, *That he might easily carry it by their Votes.* This Testimony of their Esteem for him alarum'd the Senate, who fearing lest he should make use of the Authority of that Office for the revenging the death of his Father, resolved to oppose it, and *Antonius* published a Decree, by which he forbad any man to assist *Cesar*, who not being yet a Senatour, could not according to Law pretend to that Dignity. These prohibitions provoked the People, who looked upon their Authority by this means struck at, so upon the day of the Assembly, *Antonius* had the misfortune to see his Reputation shaken, as well as his life in great hazard, insomuch that he was forced to permit the Tribunes to cancell his Decree; so *Flaminius* had the Office, and *Cesar* well perceived that it was now time for him to take measures against the uncon-  
stancy of *Antonius*, whose credit and assistance was like to cost more than it was worth; so he sent Deputies to such Souldiers as had served under his Father, and were now divided up and down *Italy*, sending also into the very Army of *Antonius*, a sort of Manifesto, Copies whereof he caused to be scattered about the Camp. Besides this, he took a resolution of applying himself to the Senate, and *Cicero*, whom *Philippus* had gained to his Party, with all his Credit was assisting to the design. Now there was at  
this

this time a cruel feud betwixt *Cicero* and *Antonius*, and their hatred had been declared by the furious declamations which they made against one another in the Senate; those of *Cicero* remain still amongst us, and are called his *Philippicks*, because he has there imitated *Demosthenes*, who wrote after the same manner against King *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*. The twelfth is very admirable in its kind, and from the first we may learn the causes of their Division. *Cicero*, being wearied with the troubles of *Rome*, and grieved at the retreat of *Brutus*, had resolved to go into *Greece*, there to lead a more peaceable life. He had been twice on Ship-board with this design, but the winds were both times against him, and he was forc'd to come ashore again at *Rhegium*: In this place he understood the speech that *Antonius* had made for the abolishing the Dictatourship, and the great hopes which appeared from that action of Re-establishing Liberty; so his thoughts of retirement soon forsook him, and nothing, as he said himself, could satisfy his impatience to be once more at *Rome*. He was received there with extreme Joy, and almost every body went out to meet him. Now the Senate was to assemble the next day, but *Cicero* would not be there, and feigned himself sick. It was said, That he had received advice of some design against his life, but when, according to Custome the Senatours were called, and one of his Friends reported the cause of his absence, *Antonius*,

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who

who presided as he was Consul, said; *That he would go seek him, and carry so many People with him as should bring him away House and all.* Cicero in a speech made at another meeting, complained of this outrage of the Consul; *Antonius* answered him sharply, and reproached him, for that upon the day of *Caesar's* Murther, *Brutus* holding his bloody Dagger in his hand, had called upon *Cicero*, and declared to him the return of Liberty. This it was that occasioned the Rupture between these two Men, which appeared more plain in the second Oration, and this disposition of mind made *Cicero* so warm for the interest of young *Caesar*, and laid the foundations of that Power, to which afterwards he raised himself.

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## CHAP. XIV.

*Antonius and Cæsar meet at the Capitol. They fall out again. Cæsar raises Troops.*

WHILE those Libels which were scattered up and down the Camp of *Antonius* were taking effect there, the Souldiers who were at *Rome* gave him to understand, That they were not well satisfied of the misunderstanding between him and *Cæsar*, which was like to ruine all hopes of revenging the death of their General, since they expected that revenge from him and young *Cæsar*, as two of the nearest Relation and Interest; but that if they proceeded in the course they had taken, they would but betray themselves to their own Enemies, and expose their Friends to punishment. *Antonius* thought he was obliged to justify himself, and therefore in a long Harangue gave them an account of his Conduct, letting them understand, That all his proceedings hitherto had tended to nothing else but the revenge they wished for; he shewed them all the turnings and windings that he had made use of to bring this design about; so that they no longer found reasons to doubt him, nor indeed did the Senate, who being informed of this discourse, became perfectly acquainted with the depth of his intentions, and saw the design of his wicked Policy. At last, those, whose business it was to re-unite *Antonius* and *Cæsar*, persuaded them to an interview at the Capitol,

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pitol, where they promised each other Friendship, though it lasted not long, for some few days afterwards, *Antonius* caused several of his Guards to be seized upon, saying, *That Cæsar had wrought with them to kill him.* But this matter has never been well laid open: some say, *That it was only a supposition of Antonius.* Others, *That it was really truth, and that the Senate, with whom Cæsar was at that time upon very good terms, would gladly have been rid of Antonius by such a means.* There was indeed great appearance of the truth of this, for the wisest of the Senators, who imagined that when they were once rid of this Enemy, the other would be ruined more easily, declared, *That Cæsar had just reasons to revenge himself upon Antonius, and that the wicked proceedings which he had made use of, would have provoked any other man as well as he to resent them.* Now *Cæsar* boldly threw this suspicion back in the teeth of *Antonius*, he went himself to his Gates to demand Justice, crying out, *That he desired for his Judges no other than his own Friends.* The People without farther inquiry into the matter, condemned *Antonius*, and some there are who believe that all this business was agreed upon before hand between those two Parties for the accomplishment of their designs, so very uncertain are the judgments of Men in matters of importance. At last *Cæsar* understanding that *Antonius* was gone to *Brun-  
dysium* to appease some Commotion which was beginning there, and to recommend him-



himself to the Troops of *Macedonia*, whom *Cajus* had brought into *Italy*, and that he would soon return again with a great Guard, upon advice thereof, resolved to visit such Cities as had been established by his Father, and bring them intirely into his interest; so he went to *Cerere* and *Silio*, which are two places not far from *Capua*, where he raised Money, and by promising 500 Drachma's by head to every one that would follow him, he raised about 10000 Men, who were not indeed regulated Troops, but nevertheless were such as had served in the Wars under *Julius Caesar*, so he put them all under one Colours as a Guard for his Person, and thus accompanied, returned to *Rome*; now the fear was so much the greater in the City, for that *Antonius* was expected there, who brought Troops with him also; so the Opinions of Men began to be very much divided, some went and took party with *Caesar*, others declared themselves for *Antonius*, and (as it dayly happens to those Men, who are so very wise, that they can resolve of nothing,) a great many upon this occasion were so afraid of taking wrong measures, that they took none at all. Now a certain Tribune called *Carnutius*, who was a great Enemy to *Antonius*, would have obliged the Roman People to join with *Caesar*, so he went to find him out at the Temple of *Mars*, which is fifteen Stades from *Rome*, from whence he brought, and caused him to lodge in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*.

*Caesar's* Souldiers drew up about the Temple, when *Cornelius* fell upon declaiming against *Antonius*, and praising the Conduct of *Caesar*. Now there were at this time in *Rome* several Souldiers of the Macedonian Army, who could not bear that their General should be spoken ill of, and declared their Resentments. *Caesar's* Men replied upon them. But as they were for the most part without Arms, matters staid there, and went no farther. This unseasonable accident made him very uneasie, and a great part of his People asking leave of him to go and get Arms, he granted it, keeping onely three thousand Men about his Person; nevertheless, those who had quitted him, being accustomed to a Warlike life, could not find in their hearts to stay at home, so they returned again to him very well appointed, and he having in the mean time furnished himself with Money about *Ravenna*, and the other Cities, he joining them with the other Troops, made a considerable body, and put them into Quarters about *Aretium*.

## CHAP. XV.

*Antonius joins his Army, but is not well received. He returns to Rome. Two of his Legions desert him, and go to Caesar's Army. Antonius's force.*

WHILE these matters were transacted, *Antonius* went and joyned himself with his Army, which was composed of four Legions of those six which had been in *Macedonia*. They received him with a great deal of coldness and silence, which extremely troubled him, for it was the Custom for a General to be always received with great Acclamations, and to have a speech made to him in the name of the Army. But these contented themselves to follow him without speaking a word as far as his Tribunal. Their discontent proceeded from the little care which he had taken to revenge the death of *Caesar*, whom those Souldiers loved most passionately. *Antonius* was not able to hide the disorder he was under, but discovered it in the discourse he made to them, and wherewith they were offended, especially in Relation to what he spoke against young *Caesar*, he complained to them, *That they had entertained his Messengers, and suffered them to carry on Intrigues in his Camp without giving him advice of the disorder.* But in the end to flatter them, he promised to carry them into *Gall*, which was a rich

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and

and fruitfull Province, and offered to each Man 50 Drachma's: These offers were so mean in the Opinion of the Souldiers, that laughing aloud, they derided him, and at last went away without hearing of him any farther. This insolence of theirs re-doubled the anger of *Antonius*, so he descended from his Tribunal, saying, *That he would teach them Obedience*, and immediately Commanded the Colonels of the Legions to bring him their Rolls, they always had them about them, and knew the humour and inclinations of their Souldiers. *Antonius* picked out the most Mutinous amongst them, and made them an Example, though their punishment served onely to provoke the rest. This *Caesar's* Emissaries knew very well how to make their advantage of, so they scattered about new Libels against the Avarice and Cruelty of *Antonius*, which he was advised of, and Commanded that those Men should be delivered into his hands, with terrible threatnings if he were not obeyed. But all his diligence was to no purpose, no body would discover them, and he was strangely amazed at that fidelity which seemed to be a general Conspiracy against him. This joyned to the news of what progress *Caesar* had made, put him upon making a new tryal of the Spirits of his Souldiers, he excused himself to them, *That for the maintaineing of Military Discipline, he had been forc't to bring Mutineers to punishment, that the offer he had made them of 50 Drachma's ought not to be lookt*

upon by them as intended for a reward, since it was neither proportionable to his liberality, nor their merit, for that he intended it onely as a small mark of his acknowledgment. He put them into the bargain upon great hopes, but said not a word of augmenting the sum, lest it might be believed that he had given way to the insolence of his Souldiers. *Julius Caesar* had always proceeded in this manner, nor ever gave way to any Sedition, but on the contrary appeared always to be most bold, when his Friends were trembling for his safety. Upon these occasions one word onely pronounced with Authority was sufficient to quell a Mutiny, and this was indeed the effect of such an esteem as is supported by extraordinary Merit. Nevertheless, this manner of proceeding has not succeeded with every body, nor did *Antonius* find it seasonable, though he afterwards changed all the Officers, and put others in their places, whom he thought better disposed towards him; so he Commanded them to march to *Rimini*, keeping onely a thousand Men about his Person, with which he went to *Rome*. He made his entry there in a very fierce manner with his Souldiers in Arms, causing them to keep Watch and Guard about his House, as if they had been in the Camp. But as he was designing to go to the Senate, and there complain against *Caesar*, news was brought him that one of his Legions, called the *Martial*, was gone over to the contrary Party, which news very much amazed him; so  
that



that he doubted whether he ought to go to the Senate House or not, especially when he understood farther that the fourth Legion had followed the Example, and was revolted also. Nevertheless, he went thither, but spoke little, especially of the subject he came about. After this, he went to *Alba*, to try if he might reduce those two Legions which were retreated thither, they refused him entrance, which was the reason that he sent in all haste, and offered his Souldiers 500 Drachma's a Man, as *Cesar* had done before him. From this place he went to *Tibur*, where his Ammunitions were lodged, and where such Troops as he had remaining (being confirmed by the offers he had made them) came and met him with an addition of the tenth Legion, which was newly arrived by Sea. The folly of the Senate and Roman People was again apparent upon this occasion: many of the Senatours, a great number of Knights, and several of the People ran to offer him their services, so that there became a Question in *Rome*, *In what Countrey lived the Enemies of Antonius?* They found him busie in receiving the Oaths of his Souldiery, which they themselves offered also to take. This action gave him great Reputation, and was the occasion that many of those People who had yet taken no Party, came and joined themselves with him, so that he marched to *Rimini* with four Legions of old Souldiers, a considerable number of Horsemen and Launcers, as also  
one

one Legion of new raised Men; besides this, *Lepidus* had four more in *Spain*, *Asfinius Pollio* two, *Plancus* also Commanded three in the *Transalpine Gall*, and at this time all those Leaders appeared in the interests of *Antonius*.

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## CHAP. XVI.

*Cæsar's force. He assures himself of the affections of his Troops.*

ON the other side *Cæsar* was at *Alba* with the two Legions that had deserted *Antonius*, one of new raised Souldiers, and two of such old ones as had served under his Father, from this place he sent Deputies to the Senate, who were now no longer Masters of their own proceedings, for either fear or particular hatred carried them away, and those very Men who could prostrate themselves before *Antonius*, were for applauding *Cæsar* from the very moment that he appeared powerfull enough to make them afraid of him. They would have been very glad if the deserting Legions had come and offered them their service; but as there was no Remedy for the present Disease, they approved so heartily of their proceeding as well as *Cæsar's*, that it became now another Question at *Rome*, If *Antonius* had ever had a Friend there? In the mean while being of Opinion

Opinion that it would not become their Wisdom and Gravity to doe any thing contrary to Form, they sent word to *Cesar*, that they would adjourn all affairs till the new Election of Consuls; but his Souldiers, who were not altogether so formal, were for obliging him to take upon him the Quality of Consul or Emperour, saying, *That they had been used to serve under no Generals but who had been so qualified.* And they had already prepared for him the Rods and Axes, which were wont to be born before those Magistrates. The name of Emperour was not then in such force as it is now, for it signified no more than the General of an Army, it is true, that it was given to any man, but after some famous Victory or great Conquest, and then their Souldiers gave it with great Acclamations, it being then a mark of Honour, which has since grown into a Title. *Cesar* refused it, and seeing they would press it upon him, thought himself obliged to acquaint his Officers with his Reasons. *My Friends*, said he, *It is not the love which the Senate bears us that obliges them to declare in our behalf, but the fear that they have of the power of Antonius, for they would make use of us to destroy him and the murderers of my Father, who are all their Relations and Friends, have imagined that this is the way to save themselves, pretending to fortify themselves in weakning of us: but this is no time to let them understand that we have penetrated so far into their Policy, which we should certainly doe, should I accept of those Honours*  
which

which you offer me, and which they would look upon as an incroachment upon their Authority. We ought therefore to manage our selves with more subtilty, and persuade them of our respect by our Obedience, for by that way of proceeding we shall more surely obtain the thing we wish for, and they will voluntarily bestow a Dignity upon me, which they well know you are able to give me in spite of them.

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## CHAP. XVII.

*Antonius besieges Decimus Brutus in Modena.*

AFTER this discourse *Cesar* went to exercise his Troops, where the *Martial* and fourth Legion skirmished before him, he took opportunely that occasion to ingage them by fresh bounty, so he again gave 500 Drachma's to each Souldier, and promised as much more if they carried the Victory. These Intrigues had given *Decimus* time to fortify himself in his Government, and when *Antonius* sent him the Ordinance of the People, by which he was invested in that Employment, *Decimus's* answer was, *That he had been established there by a Decree of the Senate*; In answer to this, *Antonius* onely gave him a short time for his departure, but the other demanded from day to day that it might be prolonged,  
which

which *Antonius* refused him, and he could have easily defeated him, but was unwilling so soon to use force, and therefore contented himself with seizing of the best places of the Province. *Decimus*, who apprehended a general Revolt, pretended that he had received Orders from the Senate to come to *Rome*, so he marched to *Modena*, which he took possession of with his Troops: this was then a great and rich City, and *Decimus* made choice of it to oppose *Antonius* without fear of being forc't thence. He had one good Troop of Gladiatours, and three Legions, two of old Souldiers, whom he had heretofore Commanded under *Julius Caesar*, and one of new raised Men, *Antonius* immediately besieged him in the place, blocking him closely up with lines and other Works.

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## CHAP. XVIII.

*Hirtius and Pansa chosen Consuls. The Decree of the Senate against Antonius. The death of Trebonius. Dollabella declared an Enemy to the Republick. Honours and Offices allotted to Cassius and Brutus.*

THE siege of *Modena* was lookt upon by *Caesar*, and the Senate as a Declaration of War, where at last new Consuls were Created upon the first of *January*, in the year 711, since the foundation of *Rome*, which shall serve as a Date for the rest of the History. These Consuls were *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, both intimate Friends and Disciples of *Cicero*, who boasts that he taught them the Rules of Eloquence, they were both also the Creatures of *Julius Caesar*. *Hirtius* had always served under him, and it is he who has given the Relation of the Wars of *Aegypt* and *Africa*, which is annexed to his Commentaries, and *Pansa* made profession of a particular Friendship with him. They assembled the Senate, where *Cicero*, who had then all the Authority, persuaded War against *Antonius*, by a discourse which is still extant. We may there read his Reasons, which are drawn from the Insolence and Conduct of *Antonius*, as well as Ambition; the matter, as it usually happens, did not pass without a reply, for *Piso* maintained the interest of *Antonius*, and in-  
deavou-

deavoured to justify him, but *Cicero's* underhand management proved too strong, and an Arrest had gone out against *Antonius*, if *Salvius* one of the Tribunes, had not opposed it in the name of the People. This was the greatest Privilege of those kind of Offices, for though there were many of them, one alone had right to oppose the general consent, and that opposition hindred the effect of all debates. It was the Peoples business to decide this difference, and though nothing was then ordered as to the business of *Antonius*, because of the Tribunes opposition: It was resolved that *Decimus* should be thanked for maintaining the Authority of the Senate, that *Cesar* should be joined with the Consuls, and Command equally with them, that his Statue should be set up in Gold, that he should be entred in the Senate, and have power to demand the Consulship ten years, before he came to such Age as the Law in that case required, to the end that the Legions might be rewarded after Victory, according as he had promised them. The courage of *Salvius* made way for the Mother and Wife of *Antonius* to sollicite his Cause with her Son, who was yet young, and all their other Friends and Relations. *Antonius* his Mother was called *Julia*, of *Cesar's* Family, and in great Esteem both for her Birth and for her Vertue; his Wife *Fulvia*, when she Married him, was the Widow of *Claudius*. This Widow was very beautifull, and of a popular, but Ancient

cient Family, Ambitious above the capacity of her Sex, and who absolutely governed her Husband, she had also some light inclinations to Gallantry, which was perhaps the effect of her Ambition, for she always loved to deal amongst the best Quality, at least we may read at this time an Epigramm of *Augustus*, where he complains that *Fulvia* declares War against him, because he could not have a passion for her, and assist her in revenging the infidelities of her Husband. These Ladies and all their Family appeared in mourning Robes before the People, and moved their Compassion. *Piso* took this occasion to try once more what could be done in favour of *Antonius*, but the Eloquence of *Cicero* dazled their minds, and the Decree of the Senate was confirmed, the charge of drawing it up was given to *Cicero*, which he performed in much severer terms than had been resolved upon; the terms of the Arrest were, That *Antonius* should immediately raise his siege from before *Modena*, and that he should quit the whole Province of *Gall*, which reaches from the Alps as far as the *Rubicon*, with a citation before the Senate in case of Disobedience to give an account of his Actions. About this time news was come to *Rome* of the death of *Trebonius*, whose Body was brought thither by his Friends, and who was the first of *Caesar's* Murtherers that was punished for his Crime. To understand the manner of it, we must recollect that *Dolabella* departing with great diligence for his Government of

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Syria,

*Syria* found that Countrey in commotion by the intrigues of *Trebonius*, whom *Brutus* had sent thither as his Lieutenant, and when he would have entred into *Pergama* and *Smyrna*, the Gates were shut against him. Nevertheless, *Trebonius* neglected not to send Provisions to him as to a Consul, and sent word to those of *Ephesus*, that they should receive him. *Dolabella*, who had raised Troops by virtue of his Office, and was still highly respected, took his way towards *Ephesus*, *Trebonius* sending out some Companies after him to observe his march, the Consul went so directly towards *Ephesus*, that it took off all manner of suspicion, so that a great many of the Men returned again to *Smyrna*, leaving onely a small number merely for form sake. Then *Dolabella* turning upon those who remained, cut them all in pieces, and coming back briskly to *Smyrna*, took it by assault. The Souldiers found *Trebonius* a-bed, who desired them, *To carry him to Dolabella*; *We will carry you*, said the Commander, *but your Head must stay here*, so he cut it off immediately, and the body was dragged up and down by the Souldiers with all manner of Indignity, for though he had not himself assaulted *Julius Caesar*, he was one of the Conspiratours, and was the Man that while the Deed was doing, amused *Antonius* at the door of the Senate House, so they shewed their hatred to him by a thousand Affronts which they did him. *Dolabella* caused the Head to be fixt upon the Tribunal,

nal, where he gave Audience, and whence the Souldiers took it away again, trundling of it up and down a long time upon the pavement. The Body was taken up by his Friends, and carried, as I said before, to Rome, where the Senate, according to that folly which they now shewed in every thing they undertook, declared *Dolabella* a Rebel, and an Enemy of his Countrey. With the same madness they made an Order, That *Brutus* should have the Government of *Macedonia* and *Illyria*, and Command the Armies of those Provinces, till such time as the Commonwealth recovered its ancient Majesty. That he might make use of the Fleet which *Apuleius* had got together, and the sum of seven thousand Talents, which *Julius Cæsar* had sent into the City of *Demetriades*, with abundance of Ammunitions of War for the attacking of the *Parthians*. To *Cassius* was given *Syria*, and the charge of making War against *Dolabella*, and an Ordinance passed, That all such as had Command of any Provinces or Armies belonging to the Roman People, should receive Orders from those two Generals.



## CHAP. XIX.

*Antonius's Letter to Hirtius and young Cæsar.*

**A**NTONIUS resolved to take this occasion to shake the minds of *Hirtius* and young *Cæsar*, who could not be very well pleased with these demonstrations of good will towards the Murtherers of his Father; therefore though the Letter be something long, in regard it will be for our Instruction in the affairs of that Age, and that in the consequence it had its design'd effect, it will not be improper here to recite the Original, which was in these terms.

*Antonius to Hirtius and Cæsar.*

**I** Have not been more pleased at the news of *Trebonius's* death, than grieved to understand how it has been received at Rome. We ought to rejoyce to see a Villain justly sacrificed to the ashes of the most Illustrious of Men, and that e'er a year came to an end, the justice of the Gods having declared it self by the punishment of one of the Paricides, seems to threaten the rest. But on the other side it is matter of affliction to see *Dolabella* declared a Rebel for having punished an Assassinate, and that the Son of one of her meanest Men should be more dear to Rome than the Father of his Countrey, and which is yet more terrible is, that you *Hirtius*, who have been honoured with benefits from *Cæsar*, he having left  
you

you in a state of Fortune which you your self wonder at; and that you, young Man, who owe all you enjoy to his name, could ever agree with those who thought it Justice to Condemn Dolabella, and that one who is a Prisoner ought to escape from those who now besiege him, and that an absolute power should be given to Cassius and Brutus. Doubtless you look upon these things with the same Spirit that you saw what passed before, you have given the name of Senate to the rest of Pompey's Camp, and have put Cicero at the head of you, though he be reduced to nothing. You have fortified Macedonia with a powerfull Army, and given Africa to Varus, who has been twice a Prisoner. Cassius hath been sent into Syria, and you have suffered that Casca should take upon him the Dignity of Tribune. That the Revenues which Cæsar gave the Luperici, should be taken from them, and that the Veterans should be drawn out of their Colonies, where the Law, and the Order of the Senate has established them. A promise has passed, and by your consent too, that the People of Marseilles should be restored to those Privileges which the Laws of War had taken from them. The intent of the Hirtian Law is utterly forgotten, which prohibits Pompey's Party from pretending to any Honours. Brutus is suborned by the Money of Apuleius, and the punishment inflicted on Poetus and Menedemus, who had been honoured with City Freedoms, and were Cæsar's Hosts, has been approved of, yet Theopompus is neglected, who was driven out naked by Trebonius, and forced to fly to Alexandria, while you have entertained Sergius Galba in your Camp,

armed with the same Dagger, wherewith he committed a most execrable Paracide. In short, you force my Souldiers and the Veterans to the destruction of their Generals and their Comerades, after having drawn them together under a pretence of pursuing the murderers of Cæsar. By this means you have approved of nothing, you have done nothing, but what Pompey himself, were he alive again, would do, or his Son, if he had any power in Rome. It is reported that no Peace can be concluded, if I let not Brutus go, or if I furnish him not with Provisions, but is this the Opinion of those old Souldiers, whose minds and judgments have not been debauched, corrupted with Flatteries, and poisoned with Bribes like yours? You will say that you marched to the relief of their Companions whom I hold besieged. I shall give them pardon and liberty with all my heart, provided that they leave him to Justice who so well deserves it. As to the rest, you sent me word that a Peace has been mentioned in the Senate, and that five Consular Deputies have been sent to me upon that design. But it is hard to expect any Justice and Moderation from those Men who so fiercely rejected the fair Conditions which I offered, and even some whereof I was willing to have abated. Nor is it reasonable to believe that those Men who have Condemned Dolabella for doing well, will ever pardon me for being of the same Opinion with him. I therefore leave it to your Wisdom to examine whether it will be more Honour and advantage to our Party to revenge the death of Trebonius, or the death of Cæsar: And whether it will be more just that we go together by the Ears to  
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set Pompey's interest on foot again, which has been so often defeated, or to rally our selves, to prevent our ill treatment from those Enemies who onely wait their advantage when some misfortune shall arrive to any one of us. Our good Chance hitherto has provided otherwise, that two Parties of the same interest should not cruelly tear each other to pieces by Cicero's Orders, who thinks himself very happy in deceiving you by those false demonstrations of Honour wherewith he boasts that he has imposed upon Cæsar. For my part I will never suffer any outrage either against my self or my Friends, this is my resolution. I will never abandon the Party that Pompey hates, nor shall the Veterans ever by my consent be ropted out of their possessions, and then betrayed one after another to their execution. Nor will I ever break the word which I have given to Dolabella, nor the Alliance which I have made with so honourable a man as Lepidus, as well as what I owe to Plancus, to whom communicate all my designs, if (as I hope they will) the immortal Gods prove favourable to my just intentions, I shall live with joy: But if they have appointed me another Destiny, I shall but taste before hand the pleasure of your punishments, for if Pompey's Party be thus insolent under their defeat, I shall leave you to make the sad experiment of what they will come too, when they are Victorious. As for you, I could willingly bear, with the injuries of my Friends, if they themselves would but forget them, and agree with me to revenge the murther of Cæsar. It will never prevail upon my belief that Deputies should come with Peace from the same place whence

*War is thundring, if they do come, I am ready to hear what they have to propose.*

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## CHAP. XX.

*The Consuls raise Troops for the relief of Decimus, which was but one Legion. The manner of laying sieges in those times. Ventidius raises Troops for Antonius.*

**I**F this Letter had not much effect upon *Hirtius*, it caused great reflexions in the mind of young *Caesar*. For what the Senate had hitherto done, might reasonably be excused, the Ambition of *Antonius*, and the safety of the Conspiratours were some sort of pretence for them, but when he found that they promoted their Commanders to the highest Power, and that they prosecuted all such as were for revenging the death of his Father, he saw clearly what their designs were, and what measures he was to take, he well knew that the Consulary Dignity carried with it all Authority of Command; he saw no Propositions of Rewards, but to the deserting Legions. Nevertheless, as he thought himself engaged in Honour to the War, and being willing to establish his Reputation by some Illustrious Action, he resolved to dissemble all with a Prudence much surpassing his Age, so that in all this affair he made not so much as one step against his  
true



true Interest. Now it was the custome with Sacrifices to thank the Gods for any Honours received, *Caesar* had publickly discharged that Duty, and in a short discourse gave his Souldiers to understand, *That he thought himself obliged onely to them for his Dignity, since the Senate would never have allowed it him but for their sakes, and that therefore he would magnificently reward them.* So the Consuls divided their Charges, *Pansa* went into *Italy* to raise new Troops, and *Hirtius* came to *Caesar* to Command the Army with him. He demanded of him by a private Order from the Senate those two Legions which had quitted *Antonius*, and which *Caesar*, without any more adoe, gave him, so their next business was to put their Troops into Quarters. A Legion at that time was much the same thing as a Regiment is now, but something stronger, consisting of about six thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, which always attended them, a certain number of Archers which were called Launcers, each Legion having its particular Engines and Ammunition. The Constitution too, which was called a Cohort, consisted of about four or five hundred Men. Now the manner of sieges in those times was also very different from what is at this day in Practice, they had no Artillery, nor any other Engines of fire, they always attacked a Town by Scalings, Sappings, or battering Rams; their Scalings were of two sorts, either with the help of Ladders, or else when  
the

the Wall was not very high, the Souldiers covered with their Bucklers, made their approaches, those who were nearest stood upright with their Bucklers upon their heads, those who followed stooping a little, till the rere Rank, who were either upon their Knees, or lay flat with their Bellies on the ground, so the others mounted upon them, and this was that which they called the Tortoise. The Sapping is still in use; and for the Ram, it was a great Beam armed with a Head of Iron hanging by Cords upon four Joysts set upright, and fastened together at the top. This Engine was set in motion, and forc't violently against the Wall, which sometimes took effect accordingly, but when the Wall was very thick, and the Garrison strong, the last recourse which the Besiegers usually had was to Famine. And this was that which now pressed the Troops of *Decimus*, he gave notice of it by Letters to *Hirtius* and *Cæsar*, who left their Quarters to go to his Relief, and came and encamped themselves near *Antonius's* Lines. He was much stronger than they, but as it was a difficult Countrey, full of Ditches, and he having a River to pass over, durst not attack them. *Cicero* at this time governed in *Rome* with an absolute Authority, and there it was that he made use of his great Talent of Wit which he employed chiefly in raising Money at the expence of *Antonius's* Friends, who were called to account with the extreme Rigour. *Ventidius*, who was a  
Soul-

Souldier of Fortune, and a particular Friend to *Antonius*, upon this Persecution quitted the City, and being well known for his Valour, and beloved by the Souldiers, he raised two Legions in *Italy*, where all *Julius Caesar's* Souldiers were dispersed in a great number, and with these he resolved to relieve *Antonius*. But to doe him first one signal service, he caused several Troops privately to enter into *Rome*, where he design'd to have seiz'd upon *Cicero*; this Enterprize occasioned great fear through all the City, several fled with their whole Families, and amongst the rest, *Cicero* himself, sufficiently affrighted, so that by this means *Ventidius* failed of his design, and that Man who afterwards so gallantly signalized himself by defeating the Parthians, marched with his Army towards *Modena*, but *Hirtius* and *Caesar* cut off his passage, and forced him to retreat towards the Marsh of *Ancona*, where he raised another Legion to those he had already, which afterwards proved a great succour to *Antonius*.

## CHAP. XXI.

*A Battel between Antonius's Troops and Cæsar's, joined with the Consuls. Panfa mortally wounded. Cæsar's Troops are beaten. Hirtius comes to their relief, and defeats Antonius.*

IN this manner both Parties daily fortified themselves, and *Pansa*, who had raised four Legions of new Souldiers, sent word to *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* to take care for the safety of his passage, he could not come to them but by narrow passes through the Woods, which they sent the Martial Legion and their two Companies of Guards to take possession of; there was a certain Causeway which went a-cross a Marsh, at the coming out of the Woods, and at the end of the Causeway a large Burrough Town, called *Forum Gallorum*, at present *Castell Franco*, between *Modena* and *Bulloigne*. Into this Town *Antonius* put his two best Legions, which were the second and the thirty third, and his Company of Guards, together with that of *Sillanus*: before him he placed his Cavalry and his Archers to intice on the Enemy, and cover his Legions, for he would not have had them known that he had brought them thither; *Galba* Commanded the Consuls Van-Guard with *Carfuleius*, the Colonel of the Martial Legion. Their Souldiers were encouraged at the sight of the Cavalry,

Cavalry, and past the Causeway briskly with the two Companies; *Pansa* came galloping to the head of the Troops, after having ordered the two new Legions softly to follow him, he formed his order of Battel with twelve Cohorts of the Martial Legion, and the Companies of Guards taking the left Wing, where the Guards were with two Cohorts of the Legion, and leaving the right with the other eight to *Galba*. At the same time *Antonius* drew his Legions out of the Town, and charged the Enemy e'er the new Legions could come up, the place was blocked up, and the Souldiers very much provoked. *Antonius's* Legions were for revenging themselves upon the Martial, who had deserted them; and on the other side the Martials were as firmly resolved to maintain their Honour, so that by this means the Battel became a particular Quarrel between the Souldiers, who immediately fell on with all fierceness, they could not open their Ranks, but fought at Swords Point, every blow they gave each other, gave a wound too, no cries of pain were heard, but shouts of Fury, and in the very moment that one man was knocked down or slain, the body was carried off, and another advanced into his place, these being all old Souldiers, who had no need of Commanders to make them understand their Duty. At last the Consuls right Wing, where *Galba* Commanded, gave ground to the thirty third Legion for above a hundred paces. But as *Galba* saw that



that *Antonius's* Moorish Cavalry gained upon his Flanck, he drew up his Archers against him, and drew off his Companies. In the mean time *Pansa*, who on his side had engaged himself a little too far, was hemmed in, and received a wound with a half Pike in the Belly, which forc't him to be carried off. His being wounded so astonished the Souldiers, that they possessed themselves of the Causway in great disorder, when the new Troops, instead of seconding of them began immediately to fly, and were followed by all the rest of the Army, except *Cesar's* company of Guards, who made head upon the Causway with *Galba*, and were cut to pieces. *Galba* saved himself on Horseback, and had like to have been slain by his own very Party, who were rallied hard by a Fort which *Torquatus* the Questor had caused in haste to be thrown up. The Office of Questor was in the nature of a Treasurer General, but he had also Command over the Troops. The Martial Legion mad with spight and shame, made head in this place, refusing to enter the Fort, *Antonius* admiring their Virtue, durst not charge them under that Fortification, but having made a great slaughter amongst the new Souldiers, who fled in disorder, retreated. *Cesar* was at this Battel, where he mingled himself even in the midst, but the shoal of those who ran away, carried him with them, notwithstanding he endeavoured all he could to the contrary. Nevertheless, *Antonius* has  
Reproa-

Reproached him since that he lost his Coat of Arms and his Horse there, and did not appear in two days afterwards. *Hirtius*, who was near *Modena*, marched upon the first news of the Battel with twenty Cohorts, and with so great diligence, that though he had near sixty stades to Travell, he came up with *Antonius's* Troops, who were retreating disorderly after their Victory, he charged them furiously, but those brave men, though so surprized, made yet a vigorous resistance, but at last were forc't to give way, *Hirtius* pursuing them Pell-mell even into the Marsh, where he durst not engage himself, and the night too coming on, forc't him to a retreat. The Marsh was covered with the dead and wounded, and *Antonius's* Soldiers, notwithstanding the fatigue of the Battel, remained still all the night a Horseback to fetch off their wounded Companions, whom they carried some behind them, and drew off others at their Horses Tails, so that by this means a great many were preserved. The loss was equal on both sides in the first Battel, but in the second *Hirtius* had very few Men slain, having taken two Eagles and several other Colours, but *Cesar's* company of Guards being intirely destroyed, were bewailed extremely.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Antonius defeated by Hirtius and Cæsar. The death of Hirtius. The raising of the siege of Modena. Brutus writes to Cicero.*

**A**FTER the Battel both Armies returned to their Camps about *Modena*, where *Antonius* resolved onely to defend his Lines without hazarding a second Battel: On the other side *Hirtius* and *Cæsar* were for Engaging, and there daily happened very severe skirmishes. At last the Consul began to move towards that side of the Mountain, where *Antonius's* Camp was least fortified, to try if he could put any relief into the Town, *Antonius* immediately opposed them with his Cavalry, who were beaten from their ground, so that he was forced to cause two Legions to advance. The Enemy rejoicing at these proceedings, charged those Troops, when the two Legions giving ground, *Antonius* sent away for another, but the circumvallation reached so far, and their Succours were so long a time coming, that the two Legions were totally put to the Rout. *Hirtius* followed his advantage very vigorously, entering the Lines, and was already got into the Quarters of *Antonius*, but was there slain. *Cæsar* got great Honour upon this occasion, he carried off the Consul's Body, and taking the Eagle out of the Standard-bearers Hands, who was very much woun-

wounded, carried it himself, till the very minute that *Antonius's* Troops were absolutely defeated; the night hindred his total overthrow, and the two Generals continued a Horseback till morning with all their Troops. Then *Antonius* called a Council of his Friends, who advised him to continue the siege, by reason that the two Consuls were the one wounded, and the other dead, and that *Decimus* was reduced to the last extremity. But he fearing lest *Caesar*, who had a great many Pioneers, should carry on his Works between him and the City, and by that means get succours into the place, was afraid also lest those two defeats might loose him *Lepidus* and *Plancus*; so he raised the siege, and retreated up to the Mountains to go and join himself with *Ventidius*. It was doubtless in the heat of joy for this Victory, that *Cicero* wrote to young *Caesar*, desiring him in his Letter, *That he would be contented to spare the Republick Brutus and Cassius*. The Letter was sent by *Atticus* to *Brutus*, who was very much provoked at it, and complained very sharply of *Cicero*, who had also reproached *Casca* with the murder of *Caesar*. *Brutus* offended at the proceeding, sent word to *Atticus*, *That that reproach might be returned upon Cicero himself, who had slain more than one Citizen in his Consulship, and was therefore a greater murderer than ever Casca was*. Is it, added he, *because we do not quote the Ides of March upon all occasions in and out of Season, as he does his Nones of December,*

A a

that,

that esteems us less than him? He boasts that he has maintained the War against Antonius, without ever having drawn his Sword. What is that to me if for the reward of defeating Antonius, it demanded that one succeed him? This is not any longer, said he, to be afraid of Slavery, but of the Master that imposes it. And in another place, Is it out of fear of Octavius's power that Cicero believes we ought to allow him these Honours? That fear, says he, is foolish, which obliges us to provide against an evil by means that are as bad as the evil we are afraid of, and which perhaps too might have been avoided. We are too much afraid of Death, Banishment and Poverty. These things appear to Cicero as great evils, and provided there be but those that will allow him what he desires, respect him, and praise him, he reckons an honourable Slavery as nothing, if such a thing as Honour can subsist with so great Infamy. In short, not to repeat the whole Letter, he said, That he had no great Opinion of those fine Arts which Cicero was so much a Master of: For what use do we see him make of all that he has written concerning the Liberty of his Countrey, true Honour, Death, Banishment and Poverty. Brutus wrote also to Cicero himself in terms not quite so sharp, but full as pressing, but the Letter is too long to mingle with the body of a History, where it will not appear much to the purpose, besides it is to be seen amongst many others in Cicero's Epistles.



## CHAP. XXIII.

*Decimus speaks to Cæsar, who treats him ill.  
The death of Pansa. His dying words to  
Cæsar.*

**D**ECIMUS was at Macedonia, and in great disputes with himself in what manner he ought to proceed with Cæsar; but as he knew how irreconcilable a hatred he had reason to expect from him, he thought it his best way to break down all the Bridges that were upon the River, and after that precaution he sent a Herald to Cæsar, who in the name of Decimus, Gave him thanks for the liberty which he owed to his relief, and taking all the Romans to witness, protested that it was only by mere hazard that Decimus had been engaged in the unhappy Conspiracy. At last he begged of him, That he would allow of a free interview, the River being between them. Cæsar received this discourse very surlily, and made answer, That Decimus owed him no obligation, that he came not thither by any means for his relief, but to fight with Antonius, who nevertheless might one day come to be his Friend, but that Decimus should ever be his mortal Enemy, and that he would neither speak with him, nor see him. Therefore, says he, let him go wherever he has a mind to go, since those who are at Rome will have it for Decimus, who was near the River understood this answer, And besought Cæsar that he would only see the Letters of the Senate, which

confirmed him in the Government of Gall, and forbad him admittance into the Province. Caesar, though offended with his insolence, did not think it seasonable at this time to resent it, though he might easily have done it, so he returned to *Bulloigne* to see *Pansa*, who lay there wounded; they wrote both to the Senate, and at the instance of *Cicero* there were ordered 50 days of publick Devotions and Thanksgivings, which had never been done for any other Victory before. The promise also of 500 Drachma's to the Legions was confirmed with a farther Provision, that it should be paid to the Widows or Heirs of those who died in Battel. *Pansa* died of his wounds some few days afterwards, whose death occasioned some suspicion of *Caesar*, at least the Physician he made use of, one whose name was *Glyco*, was put into Prison, and accused for having poysoned the wound; but *Brutus* answered for the Honesty of the Physician, and wrote in his behalf to *Cicero*, yet still *Caesar's* Enemies spread the suspicions abroad, as also that he had slain *Hirtius* in the heat of the Battel. But *Pansa* himself was so well perswaded to the contrary, that he desired to see him before his death, and thus spoke to him, *I loved your Father more than my self, and when he was slain in the Senate, I would have hazarded my own life to have saved his, had I been furnished with Arms. I would doe his Memory Justice in doing you some Service, which my misfortune hinders me from on this occasion, which should be by advertising you of*  
what

what designs the Senate have against you, for it is nothing but the fear of your Troops which forces those People to caress you, and they had never allowed you those Honours you are at present possessed of, but to fire you more to the destruction of Antonius. Their business is to dash you to pieces one against the other, by that means to re-establish Pompey's Party, ~~it~~ being the thing which they most pressinglly recommended to Hirtius and me, but the Friendship wherewith Cæsar once honoured me, obliges me to give you such Counsel as I my self would take upon the same occasion, unite your self with Antonius, for it is the onely way to preserve your life and advance your Fortune. I could not with Honour have given you this advice sooner, because it would have betrayed the Trust which they reposed in me; but at present, since Antonius is overthrown, Hirtius dead, and I just following him, I think my self discharged of my Oath, and therefore may acquit my self of what I owe to the memory of Cæsar. I surrender you your Troops, and would also restore you those which the Senate gave me, did I not fear it might cause their aversion towards you, for the Commanders are but so many private Spies upon our Conduct, so I would have you consent that they may be put into the hands of Torquatus. He died about a quarter of an hour afterwards, having given his Troops to Torquatus, who by orders from the Senate, carried them to Decimus, and Cæsar sent the Bodies of the two Consuls to Rome with great Magnificence.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*Cassius in Syria. He raises great Forces. The Conduct of Cleopatra. Brutus defeats Antonius's Brother, and takes him Prisoner.*

\* Julius.

IN this manner the Senate endeavoured by all sort of ways to re-establish their Authority, and the news which came from the East gave them very great hopes of it. *Cassius* arriving in *Syria*, found the Legions in that Province revolted, by reason of the death of \* *Sextus*, who was a young Man, and a Kinsman of *Julius Caesar*, who had left him there upon Honour to Command a Legion, whereof *Cacilius Bassus* was Tribune or Colonel. This young Man lived very disorderly, and when *Bassus* advised him to reform his Conduct, he used him ill, so that the Souldiers provoked to see their Colonel affronted fell to Mutiny, and in the Tumult *Sextus* was slain. They well knew that *Caesar*, who was then alive, would not forgive them that fault, so they desperately resolved to stand by what they had done, and debauched also another Legion into their Crime, *Caesar* sent orders to *Marcus* to reduce them to their Obedience with three Legions which he Commanded, but the Mutineers got the better of him so far, that he was forced to demand the assistance of *Crispus*, who had three other Legions in *Bithynia*, they had besieged *Bassus*, who defended

ded himself very well, when after the death of *Caesar*, *Cassius* with the Senates orders arrived in the Province. The Mutineers were transported with this occasion, so they declared immediately for the Senate, and *Cassius* managed it so well, that he brought over *Marcus* and *Crispus* also into his Interest, by that means re-uniting all those Troops under his own Command. He had also notice that *Alienus* was in *Palestine* with four Legions that *Cleopatra* had raised, and which she had put into *Alienus's* hands by the Command of *Dolabella*. *Cleopatra* reigned then in *Egypt* by the Authority of *Caesar*, who loved her, and had placed her upon the Throne after the death of her Brother, and it was in acknowledgment of those favours, that she had raised these Troops to offer him their service, when he should march against the Parthians. The death of this great Man had altered those thoughts to others of Revenge, so understanding that *Dolabella* was in *Syria*, and that he had declared himself against *Caesar's* Murderers by the death of *Trebomius*, she sent him those Legions under the Command of *Alienus*. *Cassius*, with his Army marched against him, which forced *Alienus*, finding he was not strong enough to give him Battel with the four Legions to go over to his side, by which means *Cassius* was in a short time at the head of 12 Legions. He imparted this good news to all his Friends, and went afterwards to besiege *Dolabella* in *Laodicea*, which is a



City of *Syria*. On the other side, *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, the Government whereof *Horrentius* had put into his hands, by the means of *Apuleius's* Money had drawn to him all such of *Pompey's* Souldiers as were in *Thessaly*, and all the Neighbouring Princes, who still had a respect for the Memory of *Pompey*, assisted him with their Troops, so that the whole World was again divided between two Men, for they were no more, since it was in effect the Credit of *Cesar* and *Pompey* which kept up the War between those of their several Parties, *Cajus* the Brother of *Antonius* was gone with one Legion into *Macedonia*, where *Brutus*, who was much stronger than he, might easily have destroyed him, but resolving to Husband well the lives of his Fellow Citizens, and the Reputation which he had already gotten for great Moderation, he contented himself to weary him out with moving from one place to another, and it was *Cicero's* Son who Commanded the Party against him. He was as yet but a young Man, though of great expectation, and *Brutus* praised him extremely in the Letters which he wrote to *Cicero*. He got the better of *Cajus* in two or three little encounters, the ill success whereof at last was the reason that all *Cajus* his Souldiers surrendred themselves to *Brutus*, and he himself was at last forc't to follow their example. *Brutus* used him very well, without depriving him of any marks of his Dignity till the death of *Cicero*.

## CHAP. XXV.

*Cæsar demands the Honour of Triumph, which is refused him. He attempts the Consulship by Cicero's interference.*

THE news of these proceedings was received in *Italy* with very different sentiments, the Senate were extremely rejoiced at it, but young *Cæsar* seemed to have a very little share in their pleasure, the last advice of *Pansa* wholly employed his thoughts, and to sound the inclinations of the Senate, he sent to demand a Triumph, but that Honour was denied to *Cæsar*, who from the very moment resolved to use his best endeavours to re-unite himself with *Antonius*. He sent him back all the Prisoners which he had taken at the Battel of *Modena*, and amongst the rest *Decius*, a particular friend of *Antonius* having first discovered to him his intentions, he let *Ventidius's* Army pass, which he might have destroyed, and also saw him particularly himself, to complain to him of the Divisions that ruined the interest of their Party. At last he sent to *Lepidus*, and *Pollio*, to give them to understand the same thing, and all this with the greatest secrecy in the world. In the mean time *Decimus* wrote word to the Senate that *Antonius* was ruined; that he was not able to stand before him, and that he would undertake in a short time to chase him to the other side of the *Alps*, the joy

joy for this news was every where apparent, so without any farther consideration a Committee was appointed of ten Senatours for the drawing up of a Proceſs againſt *Antonius*, and abolishing all that he had done during his Conſulſhip. This was an oblique blow with which they intended to wound the Ordinances of *Julius Caſar*. Thoſe of *Pompey's* Party ſolicited *Decimus* that he would demand the Conſulſhip in the room of *Hirſinus* and *Panſa*. *Caſar* alſo had the ſame deſign, but diſcovered it at firſt onely to *Cicero*, to whom he ſent word, *That he much deſired to ſee himſelf once Conſul with him, that ſo he might be inſtructed in thoſe rules and methods which are requiſite for the government of the Commonwealth. That for his part he onely deſired the name of Conſul, to recompence himſelf in ſome meaſure for the loſs of his Triumph, but that he would leave the Authority intirely to Cicero.* He could not have thought of any thing better to prevail upon the weakneſs of that Man, all his great knowledge and experience gave way to that bait of Vain-glory, ſo he propoſed it to the Senate with a great many circumlocutions, which nevertheleſs could not diſguiſe it ſo well, but that his vanity was perceived, and made light of by the Senate, who laughed at him for his pains, and the Kinſmen of the Conſpiratours hindred any farther proceeding towards the Election of Conſuls.

## CHAP. XXVI.

*Antonius makes his retreat into Gall. He makes himself Master of Lepidus's Army. He returns into Italy with seventeen Legions.*

**A**NTONIUS began now to understand his true interest, those Friends which *Caesar* had sent to him, had opened his Eyes, but he had a mind in the first place thoroughly to discover the intentions of *Lepidus*, who was advanced out of *Spain* as far as the place where the Rivers of *Rhone* and *Saone* meet; the Senate had given orders to him and *Plancus* to fortify themselves in that place, and it was at this time that *Plancus* laid the foundation of the City of *Lyons*. *Antonius* passed over the *Alps*, having first gained *Culeo*, who guarded the narrow passages, in all that march his Army suffered most extremely, and *Antonius* even out-did himself in instructing his Souldiers by his own example to indure their weariness and their wants; at last he came and incamped hard by *Lepidus*, but fortified himself not in the least, because he would make it known that he thought himself near his Friends. Nevertheless *Lepidus* sent him word that the Senate had given him orders to prosecute him as an Enemy, but *Antonius*, who had let his beard and hair grow, came and shewed himself in that condition to *Lepidus's* Souldiers, they had all served with him under *Julius Caesar*, esteemed him for his

his Courage, and the Civility of his Manners, so that the condition they now saw him in, moved them to compassion ; he spoke to them several times between the two Camps, where they would meet him, though *Lepidus* did all that lay in his power to prevent it. *Antonius* Souldiers were dayly telling them stories of the goodness of their General, that he marched the first on foot into the middle of the Snow himself, comforting those whom he saw were wearied, which gained the very hearts of them; at last, *Lepidus* perceiving that he was no longer Master of his Troops, that they had sent *Glaudius* and *Lelius* to *Antonius* to invite him to come into their Camp, where they would receive him for their General, and at the same time cut off *Lepidus*, if he would give them Orders. *Antonius* forbad them the doing of him any violence, and the next day passed over a shallow part of the River, which separated them, and came into *Lepidus*'s Camp. The Souldiers received him with great Acclamations, and *Lepidus* being very much terrified, offered him his Command. *Antonius* refused it, but was willing to divide with him, though the Authority should still remain intirely his. *Plancus*, who was loath to expose himself to the like disgrace, past *Iserum* with four Legions, and retreated into *Savoy*, as if he had a design of joining himself with *Decimus*, but it was indeed to make choice of his Party according as Fortune should declare her self. By this means



means *Antonius* was at the head of 23 Legions, and above ten thousand Horse, he left six Legions on the other side of the *Alps*, under the Command of one of his drinking Companions, called *Varius*, but in railery surnamed *Coryllo*, (that word signifying a Flaggon) and returned over the Mountains with 17 Legions and all his Cavalry.

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## CHAP. XXVII.

*Cæsar pursues the Consulship. He speaks to his Souldiers. He marches towards Rome. The fright the Senate were in.*

NOW to make the best use of that amazement which this success of *Antonius* had brought into *Rome*, *Cæsar* resolved once more to set his design on foot of pursuing the Consulship. The Senate had changed their method, they had declared *Cæsar* General with *Decimus*, to make War against *Antonius*, but at the same time had offended him by a foolish way of proceeding, in sending ten Commissaries to carry the Money, which had been promised to the two Legions, without naming himself for that employment. These Commissaries had private orders to endeavour to corrupt the Souldiers of the two Legions, and to persuade them to go and join *Decimus*, where it was told them their Money should be ready ;

dy; but *Cesar* took care they should be so well lookt after, that they could get no opportunity of speaking to the Souldiers; and when he let them understand how well he was informed of their design, they were so afraid, that they returned to *Rome* without ever so much as distributing the money. *Cesar* took this occasion to convince his Souldiers, That what the Senate aimed at, was onely the destruction of his Father's Party by the divisions they indeavoured to sow amongst them; so he unravelled all the secret of that Policy which had caused so many waverings between him and *Antonius*. He made them take notice how they indeavoured to raise jealousy amongst his Troops, by that distinction of Recompences, and after all, the last attempt which they had made towards the weakning of *Cesar's* Ordinances. *What* security, said he, can ye pretend to have now for those Houses, those Inheritances, and those Goods which my Father allotted you? Do ye not believe also that my life must be in danger amongst the Relations and Friends of those who cruelly murdered him? But it is not the care of that which most nearly touches me, I would give it up with chearfulness, if that Sacrifice would secure the safety of so many Men of consideration as have followed my interests; ye know that I am not Ambitious, and ye have seen me too refuse those marks of Honour which ye have offered me; but I desire some of you at present, in consideration of your selves, the onely way to preserve your Lives and Fortunes, must be the making of me Consul  
by

by your Votes, after that, we will make it our business to secure you in the possession of those Goods which my Father left you. We will revenge his death, and shall be in a better condition for the distribution of Rewards. The Souldiers received this Proposition with a great deal of Joy, and immediately named Deputies to go and make their demand to the Senate, who returned no favourable answer, excusing themselves in regard of *Cæsar's* Youth. But the Deputies being well instructed, alledged *Corvinus*, the two *Scipio's*, *Pompey* and *Dolabella*, who had all obtained that Magistracy before they came to Age, and that *Cæsar* himself had a dispensation from the Senate. They spoke these things with a certain Souldier-like Liberty, which was not very agreeable to the Senatours, who interrupted them with crying out against it, when a certain Captain called *Cornelius*, who was the first of the Deputies, laying his Hand upon his Sword, said, *If ye will not give it him, here's that shall.* After these words he left the Senate, and returned to give *Cæsar* an account of the ill success of his Deputation. The Souldiers provoked by their refusal, cried out, *That they desired to be lead to Rome, and that Cæsar as Heir to his Father, had sufficient Authority to make whom he pleased Consuls.* He took care this heat of theirs should not grow cold again, so he marched towards *Rome* with eight Legions, and passed the *Rubicon* as his Father had done before; he divided his Army into two Bodies, the briskest whereof  
he

he took with him, that he might surprize his Enemies by his diligence, leaving orders with the rest to come and join him by small marches, and understanding that the Senate had deputed new Commissaries with the Money, he sent out a party of Souldiers before to meet them, which so terrified them; that they immediately returned to *Rome*.

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## CHAP. XXVIII.

*The Senates want of resolution. Cæsar enters into the City. He treats Cicero ill, and is declared Consul with Pedius.*

NOW there was nothing but disorder to be found in the City, and as it usually happened upon the like occasions every Senatour was for laying the blame of their ill Conduct upon his Neighbour, but that was now to little purpose, for some resolution must be taken, so it was concluded, That one half of the Money which the Senate had promised to the two Legions, should be sent them, together with a farther promise of as much more to the others. That Cæsar onely should have the care of the distribution of this Money, and be permitted to demand the Consulship, though he were not himself there present. So Deputies were sent to acquaint him with these Resolutions, but the very moment after they appeared again too mean as well as too rash. Some foolish

foolish remainders of that fierceness which was natural to those ancient Romans, made them ashamed to yield thus to the proceedings of a young Man, and the insolence of the Souldiery. By chance too at the same time two Legions who came from *Libya* arrived at the Gates of the City, they were received by a Succour sent thither from the Gods, and it was resolved with these Troops, and the Legion that *Pansa* had sent back to the Senate, joined with such as were fit to bear Arms within the Walls to defend the City. So Pretors were appointed to Command them, and great hopes there seemed to be that these marks of their Courage and Resolution might astonish *Caesar*. His Mother and his Sisters were in the City, but when the Senate caused them to be sought for, to secure them as Hostages, they were not to be found, which was an instance that *Caesar* had still some faithfull Friends there; the danger that those Persons who were so dear to him were in, had made him to redouble his diligence, so he sent his Cavalry with all the haste they could make to seize upon the Gates, and assure the People of his good Intentions, himself following close at their Heels with his Legions, the sight whereof soon moderated the Zeal of those Men who appeared so hot for the defence of their Countrey, so without any resistance they seized upon the *Quirinal* Mountain, where *Caesar's* Friends, and the most Illustrious of the Senatours came to salute him. The



People mingled themselves amongst the Souldiers, bringing them refreshments, and the next day *Caesar*, attended by some of the best of his Men for the guard of his Person, made his entrance into the City, where he was every where received with the joyfull Acclamations of the People, and met by his Mother and Sisters, who had been retreated amongst the Vestals. His Mother was called *Actia*, the Daughter of *Actius Balbus*, and *Julia* the Sister of *Julius Caesar*, and his Sisters all bore the name of *Octavia*, the youngest whereof afterwards Married *Antonius*, though she proved unfortunate in the Match, by reason of the madness where-with *Cleopatra* had bewitched that Man, though *Octavia* had much the advantage of her both in Beauty and Wisedom, which made her esteemed for one of the most Vertuous Ladies of her time. The three Legions that were in the City, sent also to offer their service to *Caesar*, who received them with the Pretors that Commanded them; all, except *Cornutus*, who slew himself with his own hands. *Cicero* was one of the last in paying him his Devoirs, and *Caesar* after some sharp railery, told him, *That he was the last of his Enemies who had visited him.* It had been reported to *Caesar* how *Cicero* should say in the Senate, *That the young man ought to be praised, honoured, and advanced.* The last word bearing in the Latine a double Interpretation, for *Tollere* signifies as well to take away ones life, so that the equivocation seemed

seemed something remarkable. The next night several Persons spread about a report that the Martial and third Legions would take Party with the Senate, who had no more Wit but to believe it, and sent a Pretor, whose Name was *Acilius Crassus* into the March of *Ancona* to raise Forces. The Senators Assembled themselves, and *Cicero*, offended at *Caesar's* railery, was one of the first who came to the place, receiving the others as they entred with a great deal of Joy. But day appearing, soon convinced them of their Errour, and *Cicero* fled out of the City. It would be hard to believe that such prudent and discerning Men as were then in the Senate should be so fickle, were we not convinced by a thousand experiences, that great Interests as well as violent Passions will disorder the most solid Judgments. *Caesar* made himself very merry with this accident, but caused his Troops to approach as far as the Field of *Mars*, and to persuade a good Opinion of his moderation, he forgave *Crassus*, who came to seek him, and ask his Pardon. After which, he caused the publick Money, which was kept at *Janiculum*, to be brought, whereof he paid 2500 Drachmas to every Souldier, and promised satisfaction for what was behind, so they proceeded to the Election of Consuls, and *Caesar* to leave the People in appearance the liberty of their Votes, went out of the City and was declared Consul with *Pedius*, who had granted him his part of what his

Uncle had left them, he immediately came back again so soon as he understood he was chosen, and it is said, That as he was sacrificing according to Custome, there were seen twelve Vultures, being the same number which appeared to *Romulus* the Founder of *Rome*. His first publick act was the Declaration which he made to the People of *Julius Caesar's* having adopted him according to the intention of the Law in that Case, so the Adoption was confirmed, and his Fathers Freed-men, many whereof were in possession of great Estates, according to Custome acknowledged him for their Patron, and afterwards did him very considerable service both in their Persons and their Fortunes.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. XXIX.

*Cæsar causes Brutus and Cassius to be Condemned, with all those who had murdered his Uncle. Antonius pursues Decimus, who is at last slain.*

AS all the thoughts of young *Cæsar* were intent upon revenging the death of his Father, he no sooner saw the Sovereign Authority in his hands, but he set himself seriously to work about the business, so causing the Arrest which the Senate had sent out against *Dolabella* to be cancelled, *Brutus* \* *This man* and *Cassius* were accused of Treason and *was of no* Murther by *Cornificius* and \* *Agrippa*, and the *great Fa-* other Accomplices by others of *Cæsar's* Friends, the Accused were all Condemned *family, but* for Contumacy, and it is said, that when *was after-* (as the Custome was) *Brutus* was cited to appear, many could not forbear from weeping, and a Senatour named *Sicilius*, had the boldness to declare, *That Brutus was innocent,* and valued himself upon the matter. *Cæsar* took that opportunity to make yet his moderation more remarkable in pardoning of him for the present, but found a way afterwards to be revenged of him in the Proscription of the Triumvirate. *Quintus Gallius*, the Brother of a Pretor, was afterwards accused, for that at the solicitations of *Antonius*, he had Conspired against *Cæsar*, the People plundered the House of the Pretor, who

was not then at *Rome*, and the Senate Condemned *Quintus* to death, *Caesar* onely ordered him to go and find out his Brother, but he disappeared in his Journey, and was no more heard of. In the mean time news was brought, that *Brutus*, who was in *Macedonia*, had published, *That he would come and appear to Justice at the head of twenty Legions.* *Caesar*, who did not desire he should be so well accompanied, was resolved to spare him one half of the Journey. The Senate had given him the charge of making War against *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, he went from *Rome* upon this expedition with great preparation and very good Troops, leaving *Pedius* his Collegue in the City, who, as of his own proper motion proposed to the Senate, *That all seeds of Division might be rooted out by Cancelling whatsoever had been ordered against Antonius and Lepidus.* This Proposition was by no means very agreeable, but the Authority of those who made it, rendred it necessary, so the Senate wrote to *Caesar* for his Opinion of the matter, who as if with some violence upon himself, and being forced by his Souldiers, at last consented to it. In acknowledgment of this good turn, *Antonius* sent him word that he would go and find out *Decimus*, whose Person was very odious to all *Julius Caesar's* Friends, and *Plancus* and *Pollio* in consideration of *Caesar*, joined *Antonius's* Army with six Legions, *Decimus* had ten under his Command, but the four best of them, who consisted of old Souldiers, were



were in a very ill condition, by reason of the sickness and other Fatigues which they had suffered in *Modena*, the six others were new Men, without any experience, so that he durst not stay for *Antonius* with those Forces, but laid a design of retreating into *Macedonia* by the way of *Ravenna*, and the *Adriatick* Gulph, but *Cesar* opposed him there with his Troops, so that *Decimus* was reduced to a necessity of thinking how he might pass the *Rhine*, and make his retreat good through *Germany*. The fatigues and dangers of this Voyage so ill relished with the new Souldiers, that they deserted him, and came over to *Antonius's* Army, *Decimus* seeing himself by this means abandoned by all his Infantry, dismiss all the stranger Cavalry who were with him, and out of his own Purse furnished them with Money for the charge of their Voyage, retaining onely with him three hundred of those who were best disposed to his interest, with this attendance he marched as far as the *Rhine*, when being affrighted at the rapidness of the stream, and the largeness of the River, each man was for seeking a civil pretence of drawing off, so there remained with *Decimus* onely ten of his Friends. In this extremity he put on a Gallick habit to disguise himself, and as he perfectly understood that Language, he believed he might easily pass for some Cavalier that had quitted the service. But the misfortune that followed him, or rather the punishment of his Crime

brought him into the hands of certain Moroders, who without taking any Party, were for plundering all they met withall; he demanded to speak with their Captain, and found by chance that it was one *Camillus*, whom he had formerly obliged, this *Camillus* received *Decimus* indeed very honourably, but according to the Custome of those sort of People, gave advice to *Antonius* of what had happened; *Antonius* was touched with much Compassion to understand the sad condition of a man so considerable for his Birth, and the great Offices he had born, but as he could doe him no favour, and was therefore resolved not to see him, he sent word to *Camillus* to send him his Head, which was immediately obeyed, and when it was brought to him, he caused it to be buried, so \* *Decimus* was the second of *Ju- lius Caesar's* Murtherers, upon whom the death of that great Man was revenged; he had always been of his Party against *Pompey*, and *Caesar* had honoured him with a particular Friendship, as appears in his Will. He had upon many great occasions made him Commander of his Cavalry, and at last had given him the Government of *Gaul*, which were things that made his Action appear by so much the more Infamous and Horrible. Another of the Murtherers called *Basilius*, perished also at the same time by the hands of his Slaves, whom he had treated with all manner of Cruelty.

\* He was called *Decimus Junius Brutus*.

## CHAP. XXX.

*Prefages which were before the Triumvirate. The Alliance of Cæsar, Antonius and Lepidus, called the Triumvirate. They meet in a certain Island. Their Ordinances.*

Nothing so much satisfies the Pride of Mankind, as the Opinion whereby they flatter themselves with being able to foresee what shall happen, since by that means they imagine they are in some degree equal to the Gods, and it was doubtless that presumption which first introduced Auguries, Prefages and all those sorts of Divinings, and which so much recommended them to the Romans. All their Histories are full of them, but more particularly upon this occasion. They believed that something must have been wanting to the importance of that great Issue which overthrew the estate of the whole Universe, and laid the foundation of the greatest Empire that ever was in the World upon the Ruines of the Roman Commonwealth, if it had not been foretold by Prodigies. Dogs were heard to howl round about the City like Wolves, and Wolves were seen running even about the Market place, where they took away the Meat from the Shambles; an Ox spoke, as also did an Infant, as it was fresh born from the Womb of its Mother; some of the Statues sweated blood, and others water;  
terrible

terrible signs were seen round about the Sun. At last showres of Stones fell from Heaven, and the Temples and Images of the Gods were broken with Thunder. The Senate terrified with these Prodigies, sent into *Tuscany* for those Men called Augures, who professed the explanation of these sort of Prodigies, and out of this Countrey it was that this Superstition first came into *Rome*. The eldest Augure said, *That by these Presages the Gods foretold the restoring of Kings to Rome, where they should have absolute Command over all men, except, said he, my self, and at these words he held his breath so obstinately, that he stifled himself in the midst of the Assembly. The success was but too answerable to his Conjectures. Caesar and Antonius were united by the means of Lepidus, who obliged them to see one another for the adjusting of their pretensions; for this interview was chosen a little Island made by the River Panarus hard by Modena, hither Caesar and Antonius came, each with four Legions, the River being between them, Lepidus first went over alone into the Island, to discover if there were reason to fear any surprisal, when he had satisfied himself, he held up his Robe, which was a signal for them to approach, Caesar and Antonius advanced, each with 300 Men a-piece, whom they left at the foot of those Bridges which had been made there for that present purpose, and onely themselves entred the Island, where they imbraced, and afterwards sate down in*  
an

an open place, where both the Armies might see every thing that passed. *Cæsar*, as he was Consul, sate in the midst, so they spent about two or three days there for the regulating their interests. This was towards the end of *November*, in the year above dated. At last it was agreed upon, That *Cæsar* should quit the *Quality* of Consul, the Title whereof should be left to *Ventidius* for the rest of the year, That the Supreme Authority should be divided between those three in the same manner as it had been executed by Consuls, That they should keep it for the space of five years under the name of *Triumviri*, and in the *Quality* of the Reformers of the Commonwealth, That they should cause that Authority to be confirmed by the Roman People, That *Antonius* should have all intire on the other side of the Alps, *Lepidus* that on this side of the Alps, with Spain, and *Cæsar* Africa, with the Isles of *Sardignia*, and *Sicily*, That Italy should remain in Common, as also the Eastern Provinces, which were at present in the possession of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. In this manner, says *Plutarch*, did these men divide the World between them, as if it had been their Inheritance. The charge of making War upon the Conspiratours was given to *Antonius*, and *Cæsar*, while *Lepidus* was to stay at Rome with four Legions. To *Antonius's* Troops were added four more, and three to *Cæsar's*, to the end that they might each have an Army of twenty Legions; afterwards they disposed the matter of Rewards, and that Article was indeed of great importance



tance for the retaining of the Troops, in their Obedience; then was it ordered, That the Lands and Houses of 18 of the best Cities of Italy which should be chosen out by the Triumviri, according as they found reason to be angry with them, should be abandoned in propriety to the Souldiers. The greatest of them were Capua, Regium, Benevent, Luceria, Rimini and Vibonia. All this was regulated without the least contest or dispute, but they appeared something divided as to the revenge they resolved to take upon their Enemies; Antonius first demanded Cicero, whom Caesar by some remainders of Friendship which he retained for him would have preserved; Caesar would have Lucius surnamed like himself, Caesar, and Antonius's Uncle, and Lepidus was resolved to get rid of his Brother Paulus, who had appeared so violent in prosecuting his Condemnation, when he joined with Antonius. At last hatred got the better of Friendship, so Caesar abandoned Cicero, for Lucius, and Lepidus had permission to put his Brother to death, and that their revenge too might appear the greater, they resolved to imitate the manner that Marius and Sylla had made use of. Upon a Tablet was written in great Letters the name of the Man Condemned, and this Tablet was set up in the publick place, which was the thing they called Proscription. From this moment any man might kill those who were Proscribed, and as great Rewards were set upon their Heads, it was very hard for any of them to  
escape

escape the fury of the Souldiers animated by their Interests. These terrible Articles being written and signed, *Caesar* went to declare them to the Armies, who gave testimony of their exceeding Joy thereat, and then all the Souldiers of the three Armies came together, and mutually treated and entertained each other. In this manner was concluded that famous Triumvirate, the consequences whereof were so terrible, and which gave the last blow to the Roman Liberty. The Triumvirate is a Latine word, signifying a Partnership between three Men, that of a Triumvir serving to express any one of them.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXI.

*The Decree of the Triumvirate. The Proscription. Murthers up and down the City.*

THE Triumviri having thus established their Authority, drew up a Roll of all those they resolved should die, wherein though hatred seemed to have the greatest part, yet Interest also at last came in for her share. They wanted a great deal of Money for the carrying on of the War against *Brunus* and *Cassius*, who found powerfull Succours in the Riches of *Asia*, and from the assistance of the Eastern Princes, when on the other side these had onely *Europe* for their share, and especially *Italy*, which had been wasted, and drained by long Civil Wars; they laid great Imposts upon Salt and other Merchandizes, but that not being sufficient, they consulted with themselves to proscribe a great many of the richest Men of *Rome*, and so make advantage by the Confiscation of their Estates, but first they declared onely the names of seventeen Persons who were the most heinous Enemies of these three Princes, *Paulus* was the first in the behalf of *Lepidus* his Brother; *Lucius Caesar* followed *Paulus*, by *Caesar's* Order, and *Cicero* for *Antonius*; after these, were named *Plancus* and *Plotius* his Brother designed Consuls for the year ensuing, the Father-in-Law of *Pollio*, and *Thoraninus*, *Caesar's* Procuratour.

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The Decree of Proscription began in these Terms.

Marcus Lepidus, Marcus Antonius, and Octavius Cæsar, Chosen for the Reformation of the Commonwealth. If the Generosity of Julius Cæsar had not persuaded him to pardon those faithless Men, and give them besides the lives they were unworthy of, Honours also, and Offices which they deserved as little, after having taken up Arms against his Person, he had not fallen so cruelly by their Treason, nor should we have been forced to use the ways of Rigour against those who have declared us Enemies to our Countrey, but the hatefull designs which they have formed against us, the horrible Treachery they shewed towards Cæsar, and the knowledge which we have of their Malice and Obstinacy in their pernicious Opinions force us to prevent those Evils which may fall upon us. The rest contained a justification of the Triumvirates proceedings, founded upon the advantages which Cæsar had acquired to the Romans by his Victories, the ingratitude of his Murtherers, who had been almost all of them honoured by his Beneficence, and by his Friendship, the necessity of punishing those Enemies, who by their Artifices might involve the City of Rome in unhappy Divisions, while Cæsar and Antonius were employed against Brutus and Cassius, and the Example of Sylla. At last, after having implored the assistance of the Gods, and good Fortune, they concluded thus, *That no man should dare to receive, conceal, or help to escape any of those who were Proscribed upon any*  
pre-

pretence whatsoever, nor to give them Money, or other relief, nor to hold any intelligence with them upon pain of being put into the same state without hopes of pardon. That whosoever should bring in the head of a Proscribed Man, should have 2000 Crowns, if a Freed-man, and if he were a Slave, his liberty and 1000 Crowns. That the Slave who should kill his Master, should have besides that, moreover the right of a free Citizen. That the same reward should be given to those who should declare the place where any Proscribed Man was retreated, and that the name of the Discoverer should not be written in any Register or other Memorial, to the end that it might never be known who he was. The Souldiers arrived before the Decree, and killed at first four of the Proscripts, some in their Lodgings, and others in the Streets, after which they ran up and down to the Houses and the Temples, causing a general Terror, nothing was to be heard but cries and lamentations, and in regard the Decree was not yet made publick, every one was afraid, and fancied himself in the number of those that were Condemned, some even became so very desperate, that they resolved to involve the whole City in their destruction, and set it on fire, *Pedius* hindred this disorder by causing it to be published, That only some few of the Enemies of the Triumvirate were sought after, and that the others had nothing to be afraid of. So the next day he caused to be posted up the names of those seventeen who were Condemned, but heated himself so much with



with running up and down to satisfy the minds of the People, that he died the night following.

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## CHAP. XXXII

*The entry of the Triumvirate into Rome. Murders committed, and the sad condition which that City was in.*

**A**FTER this the Triumvirate made their entry into the City upon three several days, *Cesar* upon the first, *Antonius* upon the second, and *Lepidus* upon the third; each bringing with him a Legion for his Guard. The Law by which they invested themselves with Consular Authority for the space of five years, and declared themselves Reformers of the Commonwealth was published by *Titius* Tribune of the People, and the night following they added the names of 130 Persons to those they had already Proscribed. A little time after they proclaimed 150 more, upon pretence that they had been forgotten, by which means the unfortunate number encreased every day, till it amounted to 300 Senatours, and above 1000 Knights. No man durst refuse entrance into his House to any of the Souldiers, who searched the most secret places, and *Rome* at this time appeared like a Town that was exposed to waste and pillage. In this disorder

der several who had never been Condemned, either by malice or mistake were slain, and known afterwards by their heads not being cut off. In short, all the most Tragick fury that either revenge, hatred, or interest could produce, and all the most generous kindness that love and fidelity could inspire, were to be seen in divers accidents relating to this Proscription. *Salvius* a Tribune of the People, was the first that was slain as he was sitting at the Table, and entertaining his Friends, because he had too lightly forsaken *Antonius's* Interest, whom he had supported against *Cicero*. The Pretor *Minutius* was lost by the folly of those who in point of Honour would follow him, and were the cause of his being discovered. *Annullis* and *Thauranius* were betrayed by their own Sons, who by Divine Justice were afterwards rewarded for it. *Ignatius* and his Sons slew each other. The tenderness of a Father was fatal to *Blavus*, who came back and willingly suffered death to save his Sons. And *Ligarins* drowned himself in despair, for that he could not help his Brother, whom he saw slain before his face. *Salassus* his Wife betrayed her Husband, and *Fulvius* was delivered by a Slave that he kept. *Statius* at the Age of 24 years, was Proscribed for his great Riches, which he abandoned to pillage, and setting his House on fire, burnt himself with it. *Cepio*, after having made a brave resistance, dy'd with his Sword in his hand, and *Feratinus* having got together a great

a great many more Proscriptors besides himself, slew by their help a considerable number of Souldiers, and made his escape into Sicily. *Naso* snatcht a Sword out of one of the Souldiers hands, and with it killed the Slave that had betrayed him. On the contrary, another Slave slew him who Commanded the Party that had cut his Masters Throat. *Emilius* seeing some Souldiers running after one of these unfortunate People, asked, *Who the Proscribed man was?* It is your self, said one of the Souldiers who knew him, and immediately slew him. And *Cillius* and *Decius* seeing their Names written in the Tablet, attempting unadvisedly to flie, by that means drew the Souldiers after them, and were slain. *Scyllius* joining himself with some People who were carrying a dead Body out of the City, was slain by the Guards at the Gate, who knew him, by taking notice that there was one bearer more than the ordinary number. *Varnus*, who had hid himself in a Marsh near *Minuturnum*, was taken for a Robber, but discovering his name to make himself known, was slain by some Souldiers, who by chance were there. *Largus* having been spared by some Souldiers of his Acquaintance, and meeting others that pursued him, he returned back to those who had saved him, to the end that they might gain the reward of killing him. The Head of *Rufus* being brought to *Antonius*, who was Proscribed, because he refused to sell a fair House

which stood near *Fulvia's*, he said, *That that Present belonged to his Wife, and sent it to her.*

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## CHAP. XXXIII.

*Some stirs amongst the People. The death of Cicero.*

**N**OTWITHSTANDING the fear which these terrible examples had generally caused, the People forbore not to shew some courage. A certain Slave having hid his Master, took his habit upon him, and presented himself to the Souldiers, who were in search of him, but another Slave discovered the Fact, and the Master was slain, upon which the People rose up against this faithless Fellow, and the Triumviri were forced to cause him to be punished, and the trusty Slave to be rewarded. Another having betrayed his Master *Aterius*, and obtaining his Liberty, taken possession of his Goods, the Children of *Aterius*, pursued him up and down the City to doe him violence; upon this the People rose again, so that the Triumvirate restored the Goods to the Children, and put the Slave into their hands, upon pretence that he had exceeded the terms of the Decree. There were a hundred Examples of the like nature, which would be too long to recount: but the Eloquence

Eloquence of *Cicero*, and the obligation which all learned Men have to this day to his Memory, and the Works he has left behind him, deserve that we insist a little upon the circumstances of his death. He was with his Brother *Quintus* at *Tusculum*, one of his Countrey Houses, where they understood the news of the Proscription, so they went both to *Astura* to embark themselves for their passage into *Macedonia*, but having in their haste and fear forgotten to take Money with them, *Quintus* returned and was slain a few days after, together with his Sons, who suffered themselves to be a long time tormented before they would discover where their Father was concealed. *Cicero* went a-board a certain Ship, but the inconveniences of his Age augmented by the disorders he was in, and the fatigues of being at Sea forced him to row back to land; there divided between the hopes which he had in *Caesar's* Friendship, and the fear of death, he formed a thousand resolutions, and amongst the rest to go and kill himself in *Caesar's* presence, by that means to fasten upon his Person those Furies which revenge the rights of violated Friendship. In the mean time he could find no way for his safety, and after all these inquietudes, caused himself to be carried in a *Felluca* to a certain House which he had near *Capua*. It is said, that during this short Voyage, several Crows coming from a certain Temple of *Apollo*, which stands by the Sea-side, perched them-

C c 3 selves



selves upon the Sails and rigging of the little Vessel that carried him, and when he was a-shore, and in his House the same Crows came and fluttered about the Window of the Chamber, where he was retired to rest himself; one of those very Crows came even into the Room, and with his bill spread the Cloathes that covered *Cicero*: the example of this Creature was the occasion that his Slaves became sensible of their own Idleness, in that they took no more pains to save the life of a man for whose preservation the very Birds of the air seemed to be concerned; so they took him up almost by force to carry him to Sea, but being so very famous and well known as he was, every step he made, and all his places of retreat were discovered, and *Popilius Lena* the Tribune, with a certain Captain called *Heronius*, came to his House the very moment after he had left it. This *Lena* had had great obligations to *Cicero*, who had saved his life by pleading for him when he stood accused for the death of his own Father, they made use of all manner of violence against his Slaves, to force them to discover where their Master was, but they all constantly persisted that they knew nothing of the matter, till either one named *Cirillus*, who had heretofore served *Clodius*, who was *Cicero*'s mortal Enemy, or else *Philologus*, *Quintus*'s Freedman, discovered to *Lena* that they were now carrying him through the passages of a certain Wood that lead to the Sea-side. *Lena* got

got before, with part of the Souldiers, and *Herennius* followed the Litter through the narrow paths. *Cicero* understanding they were coming, Commanded those who carried him, to stop, and when the Souldiers were come up, he put his Head out of the Litter, and lookt upon them with a great deal of assurance. This constancy which they expected not from him, and his face disfigured, as it was, with the troubles he had lain under, was the reason that several of them stopt and turned away their Eyes while *Herennius* slew him; he cut off his Head and both his hands, which were carried to *Antonius*. As he was extremely enraged against *Cicero* for the Orations which he had made against him, he could not forbear insulting over those poor Members with the most injurious reproaches, declaring aloud, That his revenge was now completed, and that he would have no farther to doe with the *Proscription*. But *Fulvia's* hatred could not be confined to words, for she pierced his Tongue several times with a golden Bodkin which she wore in her hair, and afterwards *Antonius* gave Orders that the Head and Hands should be set up upon a place called the *Rostrum*, where the Roman People could not without Horrour see those sad remains of a Man who had so often Triumphed there by the force and Charms of his Eloquence. Thus died *Cicero* at the Age of sixty four years, he was a Man of most extraordinary qualifications, especially those that

that relate to Civil Matters and Rules of Government, which had justly advanced him amongst the most Illustrious Men of the Age he lived in. *Antonius* himself, as *Plutarch* reports, made some sort of reparation to his memory, for he put *Philologus* into the hands of *Pomponia*, *Cicero's* Sister-in-Law, who tormented him to death.

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### CHAP. XXXIV.

*The Triumph of Lepidus. The Goods of the Proscripts set to Sale. Attacks upon the Roman Ladies. Their speech to the Triumvirate.*

WHILE these things were performing, *Lepidus* resolved to Triumph over some Nations that he had conquered in *Spain*, the Edict of the Triumph was very particular, and deserves therefore to be mentioned, it being in these terms, *To all those who shall honour our Triumph with Sacrifices, publick Feastings, and other demonstrations of Joy, Health and good Fortune, but to those who refuse it misery and Proscription.* We may easily imagine how universal the joy was upon this occasion, for every one stood in awe of the Proscription, and *Lepidus* entered Triumphant into the City, where the Ceremony was honoured with more Sacrifices and Feastings than had ever appeared in the like case before. Then was set to sale  
the

the Goods of the Proscripts (that is to say) the immoveables for the moveables had been plundered, but there were found very few Chapmen, for it was lookt upon as a piece of Inhumanity to ruine Families that were otherwise enough afflicted already; besides, there appeared no security for Title to any such Goods, nor was any man willing to seem Rich by purchasing in such dangerous times. Some few, who were not of the wisest sort, were willing to run the hazard for the sake of a good Market, but that did not satisfie the Triumvirate, they had need of 200000 Talents for the War, which was a sum not to be found any where but in the City, they could there reckon up 1400 of the richest Ladies of *Rome*, Mothers, Daughters, Kinswomen, or Allies to their Enemies; these Alliances were very exactly enquired into, and very far fetched, for to be rich, was enough to belong to one of the Proscripts. These Ladies assembled themselves, and went to find out the Mother and Sisters of *Cesar*, who gave them a very civil hearing. *Antonius* his Mother did the same thing, and *Fulvia* onely refused to see them; this forc't them to go to the Palace of the Triumviri, where at first they were repulsed by the Guards of Souldier, but made so much noise, that at last one of them was permitted to speak, upon condition that the rest would be silent; this was *Hortentia*, the Daughter of a certain Nobleman called  
*Hor-*

*Horatius*, who alone of all the Oratours had been able to dispute with *Cicero* for Eloquence. *My Lords*, said she, the Ladies which you see here imploring your Justice and your Bounty had never appeared in this place, till after having made use of all means that their Natural Modesty and best understanding could inform them of; We have sought the protection of your Mothers and your Wives, but the Respects we paid, could not find favour with *Fulvia*, which has forced us here to make a publick Complaint, though it be contrary to those rules of Decency prescribed our Sex, and which we have hitherto most exactly observed. Ye have deprived us of our Fathers, our Children, our Brethren, and our Husbands; Ye pretend that ye have been affronted, but what Injury have the Women done you that they must be impoverished, if they are as blameable as the rest, why do ye not proscribe them too? In the mean time none of our Sex have ever declared you your Countrey's Enemies. We have neither plundered your Goods, nor suborned your Souldiers. We have raised no Troops against you, nor opposed those Honours and Offices which ye pretend to. Since therefore the Women have no part in those Actions that offend you, surely they ought not in Justice to suffer the punishment which ye impose upon them; Empire, Dignities and Honours are not made for us. We pretend not to govern the Re-publick, nor is it our Ambition which has drawn the present misfortune on our Heads. What reason have we to contribute to a War wherein we have no manner of Interest? War has already raised this City to that height of



of glory which we now see her in. In the mean while there is no Example to be found that the Women ever were concerned in it, the natural Privilege of our Sex has exempted us from that profession. It is true, indeed, that in the Carthaginian War our Mothers assisted the Re-publick, it being at that time in a desperate condition; but for all that, neither their Houses, their Lands, nor their Moveables were sold for that service, some Rings and some Jewels furnished out the supply, but it was neither constraint, punishments nor violence that forc't them to it, but they did it of their own good will and generous disposition. What fear at present are ye in for the City, which is our common Countrey? What imminent danger threatens it? If the Galls or Parthians come and attack it, ye shall not find us less Zealous in its defence than our Mothers were before us; but we have nothing to doe, nor ought to be concerned in Civil Wars, neither Cæsar nor Pompey did ever oblige us to it, Marius and

\* Cinna did never so much as propose it, no, not Sylla himself, who was the first that ever set up Tyranny in Rome. In the mean time ye come to reform the State, and ye adorn your selves with that glorious Title. This discourse appeared so bold a thing to the Triumvirate, and of so dangerous a consequence, to see that the Women durst speak to them thus in publick, when fear had tied up the Tongues of the Men, that they sent their Ushers to cause them to retire; but perceiving that that proceeding displeased the People, who began to cry out against such violence, they adjour-

\* He was called Cornelius, and governed tyrannically in Rome during the Wars between Marius and Sylla.

adjourned the affair till the next day, and for the satisfaction of the People, retrenched the number of the Ladies to 400, but at the same time taxed above 100000 Men, as well Citizens as Strangers, without sparing even the Sacrificers themselves for the payment of a 50th part of all their Estate, and a whole years Revenue. Upon this pretence the Souldiers committed such horrible violences, that the Triumviri were forced to Commissionate one from amongst them to hinder those disorders; but not daring to meddle with the Souldiers, the punishment fell upon some Slaves, who were disguised in their habits, and so Crucified.

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CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXV.

*Several of the Proscripts escape into Sicily to Sextus, the Son of Pompey. Some extraordinary Adventures during the Proscription.*

AS many as could escape the Cruelty of the Proscription, retired either into *Macedonia* to *Brutus*, or into *Africa* to *Cornificius*, but the greatest part went to young *Pompey* in *Sicily*, he was the second Son of *Pompey* the Great, for the eldest was slain after having lost the Battel of *Munda* against *Julius Caesar*. The youth of the youngest was the reason that he had not been taken notice of, but his Courage and Bravery soon after rendred him very formidable. He lived for some time as a Pirate, without making himself known any otherways than by the boldness of his Actions, but when he found himself in Reputation, he soon declared who he was, and rallied together his Father's Friends. He routed a considerable Army that *Julius Caesar* had sent against him, and made himself at last so powerfull, that it was found necessary to give him the Government of *Sicily*, and the Office of Admiral, which his Father had executed before him. His Generosity was at this time a very great succour to many Illustrious Persons, he sent Brigantines and other small Vessels to all the Coasts of *Italy*, to receive such as made their escape, and treated them  
all

all with a great deal of kindness. *Lepidus* his Brother, and *Antonius* his Uncle got away by other means. *Paulus* was spared by the Souldiers, who were not very fond of laying violent hands upon the Brother of a Triumvir, and retreated into *Macedonia*. *Lucius* saved himself in his Sisters House, who was *Antonius* his Mother, and who generously opposed those who pursued him, the Souldiers would not meddle with him there, considering he was under her Protection, so she went to find out her Son, who was with his Collegues, I am come, said she, to accuse my self for having taken my Brother into my House, where I am resolved to protect him, till ye shall think fit to put us both to death together, for I am not ignorant what punishment is proposed to the Concealers of Proscriptors. *Antonius* answered, That she had done like a good Sister, but an ill Mother, and *Lucius* was no more enquired after, \* *Messala* was recalled by the Triumvirate, they by a publick Declaration owning, That he had nothing to doe in *Cæsar's* Murder. But he refused to return, and served under *Brutus* till after the Battel of *Philippi*. *Bibulus* had the same Fortune, and got himself afterwards great employments. *Lentulus*, *Apuleius* and *Annius* made their escape with their Wives, who would not forsake them. *Reginus* was concealed by his, and when he was going out of the City disguised in a Colliers habit, his Wife following in a Litter, was stopped by a Souldier, *Reginus* turned back to desire the Man, That he would have

\* *Valerius*.

have some respect for the Ladies. The Soldier who had served under him, knew him again, and said, *O save your self my General, for I shall always call you so, in what miserable condition soever I shall find you.* Coponius his Wife, who was very beautifull, got her Husband's Pardon by another favour which she paid for it to *Antonius*. *Geta* and *Oppius* were saved by their Sons, *Geta* having lost one of his Eyes by wearing a Plaster upon it too long for a disguise, and *Oppius* his Son having to save his Father, carried him upon his Shoulders, was for that Action alone declared *Edilis* by the People, and not being rich enough to furnish out the expences of the Games, all the Workmen gave him generously their labour for nothing, and those who assisted at the Shew, made him such Presents, that he became very rich. *Arianus*, and *Metellus* escaped also by the assistance of their Children. *Restio*, *Appio*, *Meneius*, and *Junius*, by their Slaves. *Restio's* adventure was something more than ordinary, he had with a hot iron marked one of his Slaves in the fore-head, that being the punishment they usually inflicted on such as intended to run away; this Slave had discovered the place where his Master lay concealed, and came thither to find him. *Restio* believed that he should be lost, and that the Slave would now revenge himself, but he assured him to the contrary, saying, *Can my Master believe that the Characters imprinted upon my fore-head have made more impression there than*



than the benefits which I have received from him have done in my heart? After this he Conducted him to a Cave, whither he daily brought him Provisions. A great many Souldiers were passing often by the place, and occasioned a thousand fears to the Slave; at last he followed at the heels of one of the Troops, and took his time so well, that he fell upon an old Peasant, and slew him before their faces, the Souldiers ran upon him as a Murtherer, but he said, *That it was his Master whom he had killed to revenge himself for the infamous marks which they might see upon his forehead.* The design was too well laid not to succeed, the Characters were visible, and security enough for him, so the Souldiers took the head of a Peasant for that of *Restio*, who by this means was at the liberty of making his escape more easily. The generosity of the Slaves of *Appio* and *Mencius* is yet more admirable, they suffered themselves to be both slain in their Masters habits, the one in a Litter, and the other upon a Bed, *Appio* himself standing by at the Murther disguised like a Slave. I do not believe that any thing can be added to these examples of fidelity, and shall conclude with the bold undertaking of *Pomponius*, he dressed himself like a Pretor, and his Slaves like Ushers, and in this condition went out of the City surrounded by these Slaves, he made his travelling charges all the way upon the publick expence, saying, *That he was sent to the Triumvirate to young Pompey.* At last  
he

he got himself a good Ship, but still as Pretor, and past easily over into *Sicily*. *Hirtius*, *Apuleius* and *Aruntius* made their escape with their Swords in their hands; \* *Ventidius* as a Captain that was sent to search for Proscripts; and another Senatour, wearied out with the dayly cares of concealing himself, caused himself to be shaved, took openly a little School, and kept it publickly so long as the Proscription lasted, no body imagining that a miserable Pedant could ever have been considerable enough to have been Proscribed.

\* This was not he that Triumphed over the Parthians.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*The Examples of several remarkable changes of Fortune.*

**T**Hough the story of these accidents may seem perhaps a little too long, as they relate properly to the Triumvirate. We ought not to pass over two Examples which are very natural instances of the inconstancy and revolution of Humane Fortune. *Balbinus* being Proscribed by *Antoninus*, had with much ado made his retreat to *Pompey*, who after several years of War came to an agreement with *Cesar*. *Balbinus* returned to *Rome*, where he afterwards obtained the Dignity of Consul. *Lepidus* was at that time fallen from that high estate, where he had once appeared, *Cesar* having given him his life merely out of Compassion. It happened that his Wife and his Son were accused by *Meccenas*, the Governour of *Rome*, for a Conspiracy against the life of *Cesar*, the Son was sent Prisoner to *Actium*, and the Wife forced to give security before the Consul. *Lepidus*, who solicited for her, had several times been repulsed at *Balbinus* his Gate, at last he got an opportunity of speaking with him, and said thus, *You know very well that I have no share in my Son's Offence, and that it was not I who Proscribed you, though it were at that time in my power to have done it, therefore I beg of you to reflect upon the sad alteration of*

\* *Cajus Cilnius Meccenas* he was the Favourite of *Augustus*, and the man whose name is so Celebrated amongst the learned.

of *our Fortune*, and to grant me the favour I beg of you, either take my security for my Wife, or send me with her a Prisoner to *Cæsar*. *Balbinus* touched with Compassion to see a Man at his feet, whose power heretofore had been so formidable, made those reflexions he desired, and discharged his Wife. The other Example is of *Cicero's Son*, he was with *Brutus* at the time of his Father's death, and served under him as a Lieutenant General, and after his defeat made his retreat with *Pompey*, who gave him the same employment. *Pompey* made his own Peace, and *Cicero* returned to *Rome*, where *Cæsar* to shew the esteem he had for his Father, gave him the Dignity of chief *Pontifex*, and chose him for his Colleague in the Consulship after the defeat of *Antonius*. *Cicero* had by this means the satisfaction of seeing in his power the memory of *Antonius*, who was Condemned by the Senate, all his Images broken down, and a Decree past, That none of that Family should ever after take upon them the surname of *Marcus*. During which time *Cæsar* testified so great a Veneration for the Memory of *Cicero*, that having one day found one of his Books in the hands of his \* Grandson, who indeavoured to hide it for fear lest *Augustus* should be angry with him for reading in it, he took the Book, and having read a good while, returned it to him again, saying, *My Son, he was a very knowing Man, and Zealous for his Countrey*. By this means the death of *Cicero* was revenged upon the memory of his

\* One of the  
Sons of A-  
grippa and  
Julia, called  
Cajus.

test Enemy, as was his Eloquence also upon the back of an impertinent Critick called *Calius*, who had undertaken to expose the Works of that great Oratour. *Cicero* the Son caused his Slaves to whip him, so the Critick burnt his Remarks, which had brought upon his Bones so scurvy an answer. Even *Brutus* had his share too in revenging *Cicero*, and notwithstanding his moderation, and the disturbance which the Letter written to *Octavius* had given him, he sacrificed to him *Cajus* the Brother of *Antonius*, whom *Hortentius* put to death by his Orders.

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## CHAP. XXXVII

*The end of the Proscription. War in Africa.  
Sextius, Cæsar's Lieutenant, overthrows  
Cornificius, the Lieutenant of Brutus.*

**A**T last the Triumviri came into the Senate to declare that the Proscription was at an end. *Lepidus* excused himself for what had passed, and assured the Senators of a more moderate Conduct. *Cæsar*, who was more Politick, said, *That he would yet reserve to himself the liberty of punishing such as were guilty.* In the mean time he had long disputed with the other two concerning the Proscription, but it was his judgment now that the Spirits of the People ought to be kept in awe in the present conjuncture, when *Brutus* and *Cassius* became dayly more formidable, and when their Lieutenants still disputed for *Africa* with those of *Cæsar*.

\* *Cornificius* was there with Troops in behalf of *Brutus*, and when *Sextius* arrived there on *Cæsar's* part, and published the Ordinance of the People, the Decree of the Senate was produced in answer to them, so that Arms was the last recourse for the maintenance of their Rights. *Sextius* being the weakest, retreated into a strong place, where he was besieged by *Ventidius*, *Cornificius* his Lieutenant. He defended himself very well, and in the mean time held intelligence with *Arabio*, a King of that Countrey, and a certain

\* This was another, and not *Cæsar's* Friend who had accused *Brutus*.

tain People called *Sittians*, who were the residue of some Roman Souldiers established in *Libya* under the Conduct of *Sittius*, who had been banished from *Rome*. The Sons of this *Sittius* had been obliged to *Julius Caesar*, which caused them with *Arabio* to assist *Sextius*. *Sextius* strengthened with these succours, got the better of *Ventidius*, and that done, marched against *Cornificius*, who expected him near *Utica*. The strength of both Armies consisted in their Cavalry, *Lalins* *Cornificius's* Lieutenant, came with all his to discover the strength of *Sextius*, *Arabio* was detached to oppose him; in the mean time *Sextius* charged *Lalins* upon the flank, and forc'd him to retreat up to a Hill, where *Arabio* had orders to attack him. *Cornificius* having left his Retrenchments to succour his Lieutenant, *Sextius* marched against him, while a Party of *Arabio's* Troops, who knew the Countrey, found a way through the Rocks, and came to rife *Cornificius's* Camp. *Roscius*, who Commanded there, was slain at the first on-set, and the Camp plundered, *Cornificius* being pressed by *Sextius*, would have retreated towards his Lieutenant, but was cut off by *Arabio's* Cavalry, who slew him. When, *Lalins* beholding the action from the hill, where he was posted, died by his own hand, the Troops thus deprived of their Commanders, were easily put to the rout, and that great Victory which got *Caesar* all *Africa*, cost *Sextius* but a very few Men.

CHAP.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*Dolabella is defeated and slain by Cassius.*

**D***ola'ella* had not the same success in *Syria*, where *Cassius* made War upon him with 12 Legions, and a body of Parthian Cavalry, whom his reputation had drawn into his service. *Dolabella* had got together a great Fleet of Ships out of *Lycia*, *Rhodes* and *Cilicia*, which *Figulus* Commanded under him: for himself, he was got into *Laodicea*, with two Legions, where *Cassius* besieged him, and sent orders into *Phoenicia*, *Libya* and *Rhodes*, for the procuring of Ships also. The names of these Provinces being often mentioned in this History, it will be but reasonable to give some account in gross of what they are at present. *Syria* was a place of great extent, and contained all those Countries which are upon the Coast of the Mediterranean Sea from the Gulph of *Issica*, at present called the gulph of *Laiazzo*, as far as *Egypt*, for *Palestine*, (called at present the Holy-Land) was comprised under the name and Government of the lower *Syria*, the largeness of that Province reached as far as *Euphrates*. The rest of *Asia*, which was subject to the Romans, was called *Natolia*, or the lesser *Asia*, as it is at present, and contained a great many Provinces from *Laiazzo*, as far as the Euxine Sea, which we call the black Sea,

all that Countrey being at present subjected to the Turk; it was then very much peopled, though it be not so now, except upon the Sea Coasts. *Phœnicia* is that little Countrey, where stood the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, at present *Sur* and *Sayde*; and *Libya* contained all that Coast of *Africa*, called at present *Barbary*, from *Tripolis* as far as *Algier*. We may find a more exact description in Geographical Writings, but this is sufficient for our understanding of the present History. *Cassius* his orders were but very ill executed, for the Sidonians onely sent him Ships, the Rhodians excusing themselves, and *Libya* was wholly submitted to *Cesar* by the Victory of *Sextius*. *Cassius* with what Ships he had went and attacked the Fleet of *Dolabella*, who put him to flight, and took five of his Ships, which forced him to dispatch more pressing Orders even to *Cleopatra*, but as the inclinations of that Queen were not much disposed towards that Party, she excused her self upon the Famine which at that time raged in *Agypt*. In the mean time she put to Sea a powerfull Fleet to succour *Dolabella*, but the Winds and Tempests opposed her design, and her Fleet being much shattered and indamaged, became of no use at that time to *Cesar's* Party. *Serapion*, who Commanded for her in the Island of *Cyprus*, took other measures, he came and joined *Cassius's* Fleet with a great supply of Ships, those of *Tyre* sent him some also, by which means he found him-

himself in a condition to block up *Dolabella* both by Sea and Land. *Cleopatra* afterwards disavowed what *Serapion* had done, but there is great reason to believe that she managed her self so between both Parties, to see on which side Fortune would declare her self. The Lycians and Rhodians sent word to *Cassius* that they would have nothing to doe with the Roman Wars, and that the Ships which they had lent *Dolabella*, had no orders to fight. This answer provoked *Cassius*, but he judged it was no proper time at present to shew that resentment, which afterwards caused the desolation of those two Provinces. He attacked *Dolabella*, who made a great defence by land, and fought one Battel with equal advantage, but his Fleet was intirely defeated, and *Cassius* having corrupted some Souldiers of the Garrison took the City of *Laodicea* by surprizal. *Dolabella* caused one of his Souldiers to cut his throat, who when he had done killed himself, and the City was left to be plundered. *Cassius* caused the principal Citizens to be put to death, and forc'd the others to redeem themselves at such great Ransomes, that the City was utterly laid desolate.



## CHAP. XXXIX.

*Cassius lays waste the City of Tharsus. He joins himself with Brutus. They take measures for carrying on the War.*

**T**HIS Victory put *Cassius* upon making new Conquests, and he was threatening *Cleopatra* and her Kingdom, when he received Letters from *Brutus*, who sent him word, *That as the cares which they took to raise such powerfull Armies, were not designed for their particular advancement, but the liberty of their Countrey; they ought not so much to think of gaining glory by new Conquests, as destroying those who sought the ruine of that liberty: that therefore it was high time to turn their thoughts towards Italy, which now groaned under the oppression of Tyrants.* *Cassius*, who had great respect for *Brutus* his Vertue, quitted his enterprize, and marched directly to him. The City of *Tharsus* stood unhappily in his way, it was at that time divided into two different Fa<sup>c</sup>tions, which were the cause of its ruine; they had honoured *Cassius* with a Crown of Gold when he came into *Syria*, and another Party had done the same Honours to *Dolabella*. They had also charged some of *Cimber's* Troops, who came to join *Cassius's* Army, which was the reason that he Condemned them to the payment of 1500 Talents; for the furnishing of this sum, they first sold the Goods of the Publick, and

and the Ornaments of their Temples, afterwards their Children of both Sexes, and at last their Women and their old Men; and as the Price of all these things did not amount to the Tax, they found themselves reduced to sell their young Men, some whereof in despair hanged themselves. This cruel necessity did at last move *Cassius* to pity, who remitted them the rest of the payment, but the City remained in a very miserable condition. *Brutus* staid for him hard by *Smyrna*, and it was in passing through *Europe* into *Asia*, that he caused that famous Medal to be stamped with his own Image on one side, and on the reverse a Cap, the mark of Liberty between two Poniards, with these words, *Eidus Martias* (that is to say) the day of the Ides of *March*. They met extremely joyfull to see themselves followed by such great Forces, as put them into a condition of disputing the Roman Empire and Liberty, after having left *Rome* in a miserable condition, despoiled of all their Fortune without Money, and without Forces. *Brutus* had drained his *Finances* for the equipping of a Fleet, so he demanded of *Cassius* half of that Money which he had raised in *Asia*. This Proposition offended *Cassius's* Friends, who could not take it well that the fruit of their toils, and the hazards they had run, should be divided for the enriching of *Brutus's* Souldiers; *Cassius* also thought no less, but however durst not refuse a third of what he had gotten. Then they fell to debating

bating what measures they ought to take. *Brutus* was for passing into *Greece*, where *Cesar* and *Antonius* were expected with forty Legions, and where *Decidius Saxa*, and *Norbannus* were already arrived with eight. *Cassius* said, That that great number of Forces ought to render them the less formidable, since they would find in that Countrey two Enemies, which were Want and Famine, to fight against them. That they ought therefore to leave them to be destroyed by those means, and to attack *Rhodes* and the *Lycians*, by that means to leave the Enemy no relief or retreat behind them. His advice was followed, and the Armies divided, *Brutus* marched against the *Lycians*, and *Cassius* against *Rhodes*.

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## CHAP. XL.

*Cassius attacks Rhodes. The siege of that City. The taking and desolation of Rhodes by Cassius.*

THAT City was at this time very strong, and in great reputation for its Naval Forces, they had three and thirty Ships of War, besides a great many other small Vessels, all which had rendred that People very sturdy and insolent. The most Wise, and the richest amongst them, who dreaded the Valour of the Romans, prevailed. Nevertheless, that some body should be sent to *Cassius* to make an excuse for those succours which they had given *Dolabella*, with offers to follow the orders of the Senate. *Cassius* answered the Deputies, *That they ought to defend themselves by Arms, and not by such pitifull reasons, that to give proof of their neutrality, they ought to assist him as they had aided Dolabella. That in respect of the orders of the Senate, the Proposition which they made of observing them was ridiculous, since they could not be ignorant that the greatest part of the Senators were dispersed by the cruelty of those Tyrants who oppressed the City of Rome. That he should find yet a way how to punish those Tyrants, and Chastise the Rhodians also if they would not obey.* This answer terrified all those who were capable of any consideration, but the rash and silly People immediately chose them Captains.

\* A King  
of Pontus,  
who made  
War upon  
the Romans  
40 years.

† A King  
of Macedo-  
nia, and  
the Son of  
Antigon-  
us, one of  
Alexan-  
der's Com-  
manders.

tains. They spoke of nothing but the Vi-  
stories which they had obtained against  
\* *Mithridates* and † *Demetrius*. *Cassius* (said  
they) is neither so great a Man, nor an abler  
Officer. He had heretofore studied at *Rhodes*,  
where his Tutor still lived, being a learned  
Man, and of very agreeable conversation,  
whose name was *Archelaus*. He coming to  
give *Cassius* a visit, (who still preserved a  
respect for his Person) represented to him  
the glory and vertue of the ancient Inhabi-  
tants of *Rhodes*, the fidelity which they had  
ever preserved towards the Roman People,  
their Alliances confirmed by so many Oaths.  
In short, the Education and good Literature  
which *Cassius* had received in that City.  
*Cassius* answered, That *Archelaus* must have  
done him wrong, if he had not counselled the *Rho-*  
*dians* to have imbraced his interests, but that if  
he had given them that Counsel, he came to sup-  
port them with his Arms. He complained of  
the succours they had given to *Dolabella*,  
That the fidelity and those alliances which they al-  
leged, ought to be an obligation upon them to sup-  
port the liberty of Rome, and those who defended  
it. That he demanded succours of them as Pre-  
tor, created by the Senate, and the honestest party  
of the Roman People, and in the name of many  
noble Senators and other Romans who were with  
him. That if they would not acknowledge him in  
that Quality, neither he nor those Senators could  
look upon them any otherways than as Strangers and  
Enemies. After this answer *Archelaus* took  
his leave, the *Rhodians* immediately put  
their



their Fleet to Sea under two Commanders, whose names were *Alexander* and *Manasses*, and came to meet *Cassius* as far as *Gnidos*. This was the same place where they had beaten the Army of *Mithridates*, which seemed a favourable Omen to their present undertaking. *Cassius* having caused his Fleet to advance, the fight became long and bloody, by reason of the Valour of the Rhodians, and the nimbleness of their Ships, till at last *Cassius*, who was stronger in number, hemmed them in, and rendred that nimbleness useles, so being forced to lye still as they fought, they lost five of their Vessels, the rest with much adoe saved themselves, but extremely shattered, and *Cassius* came before *Rhodes*, where he had another Sea Battel, in which the Rhodians being again defeated, *Cassius* landed with his Troops, and attacked the City on every side, notwithstanding the many Sallies made by the besieged. He caused Towers to be raised of Wood near the Walls, from whence they very much incommoded the besieged, who were forced to demand Composition, which while it was in Treaty, the rich Party opened the Gates to *Cassius*, who entred into the City, where he caused a Tribunal to be raised, and a Launce planted before him, as it was the Custome of the Roman Generals when ever they had taken a City by force: he forbade his Souldiers upon pain of death to offer at any pillage, he caused fifteen of the most obstinate Citizens to be brought before him, whom

whom he put to death, he condemned five and twenty more, who had made their escape, and afterwards Commanded, *That all the Gold and Silver which was either in the Temples, or other publick places, as well as particular Coffers, should within a prefixed time be brought to him.* And to the end that no man might dare to conceal any, the Order ran upon pain of death. He promised also the tenth part to Persons that were free, and liberty to all such Slaves as should discover any that was hidden. This succeeded with him accordingly, and after the punishment of three or four who had put their Wealth out of the way, the terrour of death, and fear of Discoverers forced all the rest to bring to light what they had hidden either in Pits, Tombs, or any other places. By this means *Cassius* got together great sums of Money at the expence of the City of *Rhodes*, and gave order also that those of *Asia* should advance ten years of those Taxes which they paid to the Romans. He sent afterwards *Marcus*, one of his Lieutenants, with sixty Ships to go and plunder *Peloponnesus*, and oppose *Cleopatra*, who was said to have put a powerfull Fleet to Sea in favour of *Cesar* and *Antonius*.

## CHAP. XLII

*Brutus enters into Lycia. He besieges the City Xanthus.*

THE desolation of that famous Grecian City was doubtless the reason why *Plutarch*, who was otherways a very good Historian, has written, *That Cassius used this Conquest of Rhodes neither with Humanity nor Modesty.* For we cannot look upon the punishment of fifteen Mutineers as any great mark of Inhumanity, and for the Wealth of the Inhabitants it did belong to him by the right of War. But as *Plutarch* was a Grecian, the love of his Countrey has in spite of his Philosophy transported him upon several occasions, so that though his Works be one of the finest pieces that any of the Ancients have left us, we may observe to the same purpose that the most Wise and Learned Men (for those were his Qualities) have not been able sometimes to avoid shewing the marks of humane frailty. *Brutus*, whom that Authour hath so highly praised, proceeded much more cruelly in *Lycia*. The City of *Xanthus* was one of the strongest places in that Province. *Brutus* after some light Rencounters had forced all those who bore Arms to shut themselves up there, and then besieged them. *Lycia* is a Province of the lesser *Asia*, and its name seems to be derived from the word *Lycos*,

E e

which

which in Greek signifies a Wolf, the stoutness of those People holding much resemblance with the fierceness of that Creature. The River of *Xanthus*, from whence the City had its name, ran through the middle of it, and many saved themselves by night with swimming under water through that River, where *Brutus* laid Nets with Bells tied to them, who by the noise they made, gave notice when any were plunged into them, the Ditches of the City were very deep, and fifteen paces broad, and the Xanthians from their Walls launched a great many Darts against the Romans, who endeavour'd to fill up those Ditches: against these Darts *Brutus* caused Pallisado's to be made, and after having divided his Troops into several bodies to go and fetch Baskets of earth, he caused so great a number of them to be brought, that he filled up the Ditch, after which his Souldiers came to blows with those who defended the outworks of the Walls, and drove them into the Town. The Wall being fiercely battered by the Rams, and falling down in several places, *Brutus* drew off his Men, that he might give the Enemy time to Capitulate, but the Xanthians looking upon this as an effect of fear, made a fierce Sally out of the Town to set fire to the Engines, when the Romans turning upon them, charged them so home, that those who were at the Gates, were forced to lock them, fearing lest the Enemy should enter the Town with those who

who fled; so all those Xanthians who remained without were cut in pieces, which nevertheless hindred not another Sally about Noon, which was performed so vigorously, that *Brutus's* Engines were abandoned and burnt. Upon this, shame and despoight made the Romans Rally, and drive back the Enemy again to the Gates, who by reason of the former accident were not now locked. The Romans entred Pell-mell with those whom they pursued, when immediately the Portcullis was let down, by which means near two thousand Roman Souldiers who had gotten entrance, were shut up in the City, and being overwhelmed with Darts and Stones, which were thrown at them from the tops of the Ramparts, they Rallied themselves, and got possession of the Temple of *Sarpedon*, who had heretofore been King of *Lycia*, and was slain in the Trojan War. The extreme danger these People were in, put all *Brutus's* Army upon finding out a way how they might speedily succour them, the Ladders were burnt, and some were for making new ones, but that being an expedient which would take up too much time, they made use of the Masts of Ships to mount by, others fastened great Nails to a Cord, which they threw up upon the Wall, and when ever the Nail took hold on any place, got up by the Cord. Thus they tried a hundred useles ways e'er they could find a good one, when a certain people called *Inandes*, who were Neighbours and Enemies



to the Xanthians, and who were in *Brutus's* Army, contrived to get up by certain Rocks almost inaccessible, which were joined on one side to the Walls of the Town; several Romans followed them, and notwithstanding the Enemies Darts, which killed them many men, they got upon the top of the Walls, from thence with their hands they helped up their Companions, and by that means got in great numbers upon the Ramparts.

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## CHAP. XLII.

*The taking of Xanthus. The fury and despair of the Xanthians.*

**T**HERE was near this place a Gate shut up and fastened with beams and other things of that nature, thither the Romans, who were upon the Rampart, ran in great haste, and soon found out a way to destroy what filled up the Gate; so by that means *Brutus's* Troops entred the Town, making horrible Cries to animate their Companions, and terrify the Enemy, who furtiously attacked the Temple of *Sarpedon*; but when they perceived that the City was taken, dispersed themselves in a moment, and retreated every one to his own House. The Romans surprized at this retreat, were more amazed when they saw several places of

of the Town in flames, for these Lycians, driven by a fury which was almost beyond imagination, resolved to bury themselves in the ashes of their City, either their natural fierceness having inspired them on a sudden with this desperate design, or having premeditated and resolved upon it before. The Romans ran immediately to extinguish the fire, but those mad people repulsed them with flights of Arrows and other Darts, they cut the Throats of their Wives, their Children and their Slaves before the Souldiers faces, and afterwards leapt into the middle of the flames; others ran like wild Beasts upon their Enemies Weapons, the very Children offered their Throats to their Fathers Swords, or else threw themselves down from the tops of the Houses into the fire, and after the Conflagration was over, a Woman who had hanged her self, was found holding in one hand her Child, whom she had strangled, and in the other a Torch, wherewith she had set fire to her House. *Brutus* was not able to see this sad spectacle, being so touched with it, that he wept, but did all that lay in his power to save the small remainders of those miserable people, by declaring that he would give a reward to every Souldier who should bring him a Xanthian, though all his cares were able to preserve no more than fifteen, who notwithstanding complained, *That in spite of themselves their lives were preserved.* This furious proceeding was it seems no new thing to the Inhabitants of

*Xanthus*, for they had already made use of it twice before, the first time when *Harpagus*, *Cyrus's* Lieutenant, attacked them, and afterwards when they were besieged by *Alexander*. From this City *Brutus* marched against *Patarea*, but fearing the same desperate proceeding there which he had found at *Xanthus*, he did not press it, onely sent a Summons to the Inhabitants that they would not force him to destroy them, and those *Xanthians* whom he had preserved, were by his orders sent into *Patarea*, to the end that by telling the story of their own miseries, they might make the others afraid, and serve as well for Example as Instruction. He also set at liberty several Women who had fallen into his hands, and by those mild proceedings was at last successfull, for the City surrendered it self, and *Brutus* according to the example of *Cassius*, gave out severe orders, *That all the gold and silver that could be found there should be brought to him* ; but that which he did better than *Cassius* was, that he Condemned a Slave who had given advice of a certain Treasure that his Master had hidden, the Masters Mother declared, *That it was she who had concealed the Money*, but the Slave without being interrogated, maintained the contrary, and the Master said not a word ; but *Brutus* considering that the insolence of this Slave proceeded from no other grounds than the hatred which he bore to his Master, sent him to the Gibbet, and restored to the Mother and her Son both their Money

ney and their Liberty. Another action of Justice got him a great deal of Honour. *Theodotus* was the Man who had the most contributed to the death of *Pompey* the Great, by that Harangue which he made at *Ptolemy's* Council Board. This Man was in *Asia*, where he sculk'd about from Town to Town; but *Brutus* caused him to be seized upon and put to a cruel death, and the punishment of this speech-maker was a very welcome thing to all the Princes of that Countrey, who had a great Veneration for the Memory of *Pompey*.

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## CHAP. LXIII.

*Cæsar and Antonius caused their Troops to pass into Macedonia. Cassius joins himself with Brutus. Their interview.*

IT was much about this time that *Lentulus*, *Brutus's* Lieutenant, surprized the Port of *Smyrna*, and drew great Sums of Money out of that City. He went afterwards to find out *Brutus*, who to his own Fleet had joined the Lycian Ships, whom he had intirely Conquered, and sent them to *Abydos* to stay there for *Cassius*, his design was to unite their Forces with those of young *Pompey*, and so act jointly against *Italy*. But *Cæsar* and *Antonius* prevented them, and notwithstanding all the indeavours of *Marcus*, *Cassius's* Lieutenant, past their Troops into *Macedonia* after this manner; *Cæsar* had caused *Salvidienus* to attack *Pompey*, and while his Land Army was with him at *Rhegium*, fought a great Battel in the straits of *Messina*, *Cæsar's* Ships being heavy, and not easily to be managed at first suffered very much, but the Valour of those Souldiers who were on board, maintained the Combat till night, and was the Cause that the two Fleets separated with equal advantage, though disabled from any farther service for a long time. During the time of this Battel, *Antonius* had besieged *Marcus* in a Port near *Brundisium*, but that Lieutenant being almost equal to him in  
number



number of Ships, he was forced to call *Cæsar*; afterwards *Marcus* retreated and kept the Sea with a design to annoy those Vessels who were to transport the Triumvirates Forces, but the Winds broke his Measures, and were so favourable to the others, both in their going and returning, that not one of them was taken, so he went to join *Domitius*, and they made together 130 great Ships, besides many other light Vessels which were to be employed for hindring the passage of any Provisions into *Macedonia*, which must have reduced the Triumvirate to the utmost necessity, had *Brutus* and *Cassius* known how to manage their advantage. These two Generals had joined each other at *Sandis*, where their Souldiers gave them the Title of Emperour, there was at first some contest between them upon their different interests, which they were resolved to regulate when they came face to face. The dispute grew very warm between them, so that they first came to most severe Reproaches, and afterwards to Tears. The discourse was so loud, that *Favonius*, notwithstanding all the opposition of their Guards, came into the Chamber where they were. *Favonius* was (to speak properly) *Cato's* Ape, ridiculous as any Imitator always must be, with quickness enough indeed, but little or no judgment. In short, the most famous giddy brain pretender to Vertue and Philosophy, which was in that time, his Sect (we may well imagine) was that of the *Cynicks*, he entred the Chamber

ber with a very grave air, pronouncing aloud a Verse of *Homer*, which signifies, *Believe me, for I am older than ye both.* *Cassius* fell a laughing, but *Brutus* drove him out again, calling him, a *Dog* and a *Counterfeit Philosopher.* In the mean while the Dispute ended, and they went and supped together, where *Favonius* was admitted to play the fool for the Company.

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#### CHAP. XLIV.

*Brutus sees a Ghost. Cassius satisfies him by his Reasons.*

**T**HERE happened several other Disputes between them, wherein *Brutus* evermore preserved the steadiness of his Character, but as they are wide from the purpose, we shall onely recount here that famous Story of a Ghost or Spectre which appeared to him in this place. *Brutus* was very sober, and slept but little, especially in time of War, he onely lay down for a short while after Supper, and for the rest of the night he was wont to employ one third for the dispatch of his Affairs, another in Reading, and the last in giving Orders. According to this Custome he was in his Tent very busie upon some thought which wholly took up his mind, there was a general silence through all the Camp, and especially round his

his Tent, when of a sudden he heard a noise at the door, which at the same time opened of its own accord, he cast his Eye towards the place, and perceived the frightfull figure of a hideous Spectre, of a proportion much more than natural, which presented it self before him, he had nevertheless the Courage to speak to it, demanding, *If it were a God or a Man, and for what reason it came thither? I am,* said the Ghost, *thy Evil Genius, Brutus, thou shalt see me again near Philippi.* Brutus without being terrified, answered again, *Well, I will see thee,* so it disappeared, and Brutus called up his Slaves, who all told him, *That they had neither seen nor heard any thing.* He continued waking all the rest of the night, and as soon as it was day, went to give an account of what had happened to Cassius, who as to his Philosophy was an Epicurean, he attributed all the Vision merely to the weakness of the senses, and the force of imagination, which easily turns them towards all sorts of Idea's. This he maintained by the example of Dreams, where the fancy forming different Images, agitates the Organs of the Body after the same manner as they would be by outward objects. *This is that,* said he, *to Brutus, which hath happened to you, your senses being tired with fatiguing and watching, have been easily imposed upon by the imagination. As for the rest, that there are any such sort of Spirits here, and that they have voice, or humane shape, or any power over us, let us never believe it, though I*  
*could*

could earnestly wish it were so, to the end that we might not only rely upon those many Forces, Arms and Ships which we have now attending on us, but also upon the assistance of those immortal Beings who could not but be favourable to designs so Sacred and just as ours are. This discourse satisfied Brutus, and he had afterwards an Omen which absolutely assured him, two Eagles came to settle upon the foremost rank of the Souldiers that marched in Battalia, and followed them till the evening before the Battel of Philippi. This is a City lying between Macedonia and Thracia, near the narrow passages of Salapia and Torpida, through which those who go out of Asia into Europe must of necessity pass. Norbanus, and Decidius Saxa, Caesar's Lieutenants, had taken possession of those passages with very strong Forces, so Brutus and Cassius following the advice of Rhascupolis King of Thrace, resolved to take a long compass round by Lyfmachia, and arrived at the black Golph, called at present Charidia, where they came ashore. From thence they marched upon two Lines, which took up the whole Land from the Sea up as far as \* Enio, and put one Legion on Board their Ships under the Command of Cymber one of the Conspiratours, by that means to give some jealousy to Norbanus, and force him to quit those passages before the arrival of Caesar and Antonius, who were now marching with all speed to his relief.

\* A City of Thrace.

## CHAP. XLV.

*The Forces of Cassius and Brutus. Those of Antonius and Cæsar. Cassius speaks to his Souldiers.*

IT was not without a great deal of terroure that every body stood expecting the success of these two powerfull Armies, who were to decide the fortune of the Roman Empire. The Conspiratours Forces consisted of nineteen Legions, which made in all 24 thousand Foot, and 20000 Horse. The Triumviri's Legions were but nineteen, for they had been forc't to leave Troops in *Italy* to make head against young *Pompey*. These Legions were better completed than the Conspiratours were, by which means they were stronger in their Infantry, which consisted of 100000 Men, but they had onely thirteen thousand Horse. *Brutus* and *Cassius* resolved at this time to take a general review, and speak to their Souldiers. These sort of Actions were of great Reputation amongst the Romans, being always mingled with Religion, they prepared a Magnificent Tribunal for their General Officers, and before the Tribunal an Altar, the Sacrificers in view of all the Army offered up three sorts of \* Victims which they divided into two parts, and these two parts they ranged on each side of the way which lead to the Altar. All the Officers and Souldiers of the Army

\* A Sow, a Sheep, and a Bull.



\* *Lustrare*  
*exercitum.*

Army marched one after another between those pieces of the Sacrifices which were thus ranged, and went to the Altar to take the Oath. This they called \* purifying of the Army, and it was in this manner that *Brutus* and *Cassius* proceeded. They appeared upon the Tribunal, having upon their right Hand the Magistrates and Roman Senatours, and on their left those Princes who Commanded Foreign Troops. The Souldiers were all splendidly attired, and adorned with the spoils of *Asia*. This was one of *Brutus's* Maximes, who was of Opinion, That the richness of their Habits and their Arms would make an addition of Courage to the Souldiers; because, said he, those who have them, will fight out of Covetousness to preserve them, and those who are Ambitious, for the honour of them. When the Sacrifice was over, *Cassius*, who was the elder Man, took upon him to speak, and represented to the Souldiers, That as both the Souldiers and Officers had in this War but one common Interest, it was just that every one should reciprocally take such security as Generals always ought to have in their Troops, and the Troops in their Generals; That the foundation of that trust might be reasonably laid upon the assistance of so many Noble Roman Foreign Princes, and Gallant Souldiers, upon the abundance of Money and Provisions which yet their Enemies wanted, upon their Naval Forces, they being every where Masters at Sea. And in short, upon the Justice of their Arms, That they were not liable to any reproach except for the death of *Julius Cæsar*,  
who

who had deprived the Romans of all their Rights, and the liberty of choosing Magistrates, and who had established Tyranny in their City; That all the Senate had consented to that action, though only a small number of them put it in execution. He enlarged himself very much upon this Point, and afterwards proceeded to the Cruelty of the Triumvirate. At last he concluded with assuring them, That 2500 Drachma's should be immediately given to the Souldiers, 5000 to the Captains, and double the sum to the Colonels. The Souldiers were extremely rejoiced to hear these words, but much more when they saw the Money, they thanked their Generals, and after having bestowed sufficient Praises upon them, prepared to march with a great deal of chearfulness. Brutus and Cassius made also considerable Presents to the chief Officers and Commanders of the Foreign Troops, so that the whole Army being very well satisfied, advanced towards the Plain of *Orica*, to the foot of the Mountain, where are those narrow passages which I have before made mention of.

## CHAP. XLVI.

*The two Armies draw near each other. A description of the City of Philippi and its out-works.*

UPON the news of this, *Norbanus* sent word to *Decidius* to come and join him, and when they were together, they fortified themselves so well in the narrow passages, that there was no possibility of any ways annoying them. *Brutus* being very much confounded, consulted with *Rhascupolis*, who was perfectly acquainted with all that Countrey, and that Prince told him, That there was another passage over those rough Mountains, but that it would take them up three days march, and moreover they must want water, but that if they would carry it with them, he would undertake to conduct the Troops by the fourth day to the River of *Arpeffa*, which was but one days march from the City of *Philippi*, and by a way where the very Birds themselves should never see them, because of the height of the Trees which covered those narrow passages. The Souldiers being well encouraged, resolved to pass through that place, notwithstanding the difficulty of the ways, every one provided himself with Water, and *Bibulus* led the Vanguard with *Rhascupolis*. The Troops suffered great hardship in this march, and began also to want Water, so they were already for accusing the King of Treason, when their  
Scouts

Scouts discovered the River, they immediately signified their joy to the Army with great Cries, to which all the Troops answered, and the two Generals who were in their Rere-guard, doubled their speed. *Rhaseupolis's* Brother, whose Name was *Rhaseus*, served at this time under *Cesar*. They had thus divided themselves, to the end that one of them might partake of the good Fortune of the Conquerours for the preservation of their Estates. By these great Cries *Rhaseus* knew that the Enemies were passed, and was much surprized that so great an Army should get through such rough places, where even the Wild-beasts found many difficulties, he gave notice thereof to *Norbanus*, who was afterwards forced to quit his Post, and retreat with *Decidius* to *Amphipolis*. *Brutus* by this means got possession of the City of *Philippi*, and *Cymbere* being arrived with his Fleet near the place, they fortified themselves there. The City of *Philippi*, which was heretofore called *Daros*, took this new name from *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who fortified it. It is built upon a little Hill, where are abundance of Springs, having other woody Hills towards the North, towards the South a Marsh, which goes as far as the Sea, towards the East the straits of *Salapea* and *Torpida*, and towards the West a Plain which reaches as far as the River *Strymon*. This Plain was full of very pleasant Meadows, and near enough to the City stood a little

Eminence where *Brutus* encamped himself. *Cassius* went and took possession of an advanced ground about a League and a half from him, and they drew lines of Communication from one Camp to the other. This was (as I said) the onely place through which there lay a passage out of *Asia* into *Europe*. They had before them the Plain, through which there ran a little River called *Ganga*, upon their left hand was the River *Strymon*, and the Marsh, the inaccessible narrow passages upon their right, and behind them the Sea, by which they could furnish themselves with all sort of Conveniences out of the Cities of \* *Thasos* and † *Neapoli*, where they had setled their Provisions.

\* An Island near Thrace.

† A City of Thrace.

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## CHAP. XLVII.

*The two Armies retrench themselves. Their different movements, and some skirmishes. The uneasiness of Cassius.*

THE danger which *Norbanus* was in, caused *Antonius* to make such extraordinary haste, that even *Brutus* himself was surprized at it. The occasion of this quick dispatch was the City of *Amphipolis*, where the Triumviri designed to place their Magazines, and *Antonius*, when he understood that *Norbanus* was retreated thither, was very much rejoiced at it; he left a Legion there under the Command of *Pinarus*, and then went and posted



posted himself boldly in the fight of the Conspiratours, they had very much the advantage of him by the situation of their Camp, Wood, the Water of the River, and abundance of Provisions. *Antonius* on the contrary had no Water but what he drew out of Pits, which he had caused to be digged on purpose, and his Wood from the Marsh, his Provisions came to him very far, and were also very scarce. In the mean time his boldness amazed the Enemies Army, and forced the Generals to make new Works, wherewith *Cassius* filled up all the ground which lay between his Camp and the Marsh, by which means the whole front of their Camp was well fortified, and their flanks covered, *Brutus's* by the declining of the hill, and *Cassius's* by the Marsh and Sea. These Works produced dayly some skirmish or other between the Cavalry that guarded the Pioneers, wherein the Conspiratours Party had generally the advantage. At last *Caesar*, who had lain sick at *Dyrrachium*, came to the Army, and his Troops in Testimony of their joy drew out of their Camp in Battalia. *Brutus* puffed up with the good success which his Cavalry had had in little skirmishes, or, as he himself said, impatient to put an end to the miseries of Mankind by a glorious Victory, or a noble Death, drew up his Troops also, but *Cassius* persuaded him to stay in his Trenches. It is but a vain thing to flatter our selves with that resolution which we pretend to be furnished withall

from Reason and Philosophy, for it evermore abandons us when we have most need of it, and two Presages were able to overthrow all *Cassius's* Epicurean Principles, and which is a greater discovery of humane frailty, those Presages which appeared so dreadfull to him, would seem but very ridiculous to a great many Men. One of his Officers presented him a wreath of flowers which he was to wear when he sacrificed, with the inside outward. And he who as the Custome was, carried a golden figure of Victory at the head of *Cassius's* Ensigns, stumbled with the Image, and fell upon his Nose. There were moreover Crows and other Birds of that kind, seen flying about the Camp, a swarm of Bees was found there too, which a Man would think should be no very surprizing thing near Woods and Meadows. Nevertheless, these Remarks which a man of common sense would now despise, were at that time so very considerable, that they utterly confounded the mind of *Cassius*, and infected his whole Army with the same frailty, which occasioned the loss of that Battel upon which the fate of the Roman Empire depended.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

*Antonius possesses himself of a Post behind the Enemies Camp. Brutus resolves to fight contrary to the Opinion of Cassius.*

**A**NTONIUS very well understood the reason why the Conspiratours avoided fighting, he knew that *Asia* being behind them, furnished them with Provisions in abundance, whilst *Aegypt*, harassed with Famine, could afford none to the Forces of the Triumvirate; that *Pompey* would hinder them from fetching any out of *Spain*, and that *Marcus* and *Domitius* defended the passage into *Italy*, so that their onely recourse was to *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, which must be soon exhausted. *Cassius* also represented the same thing dayly to *Brutus* and his Officers; but at last the Courage of *Antonius* overcame all those difficulties, he was drawn up against *Cassius*, as *Brutus* was against *Cæsar*, and indeavoured to get possession of a Post, which was on the other side of the Marsh behind *Cassius's* Camp. He gave orders for the throwing of Earth upon the Reeds, and upon this Earth spread Stones; and this kind of Causeway he caused to be supported by pieces of Wood driven cross-ways into the Marsh, and where the Water was too high made Bridges: *Antonius* every day covered this Work with Skirmishes, and as it was secretly carried

on a-cross the Reeds, the Enemies could perceive nothing but the Towers and Fortifications which they saw upon that Post which lay on the other side of the Marsh, *Cassius* admired the work, and *Antonius's* boldness, and that he might in nothing give place to him, extended his Lines along the Marsh as far as the Sea, and by that proceeding meeting with *Antonius's* Causeway, cut it off, by which means those of the Triumviri's Forces, who were already gotten on the other side of the Marsh, became very much exposed. It was not doubted in the Conspiratours Camp, but that *Antonius* would doe all that in him lay to disengage his Troops. The onely question was how they should receive him, whether out of their Lines in Battalia, or onely by defending their Lines. *Brutus* carried the dispute for a general Battel, chiefly, because some of the Souldiers had already deserted. This reason prevailed also with all the rest of the Officers, except *Atellius*, who still insisted for staying till Winter was over, *Brutus* asked him, *What advantage he hoped for from such a prolongation; what, said he, to live a year longer.* This answer added to the disorder of *Cassius*, who heard it, and who after the Council broke up, went to Supper with *Messala*. This *Messala* was a young Man of Noble birth, who had a great deal of Wit, and was very learned for a Man of Quality, he became afterwards as I have already observed, in great favour with *Augustus*, and had the

the Command of the best and bravest Legion of that Army. *Cassius* was sad and thoughtfull all the Supper time, though he was naturally very gay, and as he rose from the Table, taking *Messala* by the hand, *Messala*, said he, *you must bear me witness that I am forc't in the same manner as Pompey once was, to expose the liberty of the Roman People to the hazard of a Battel; nevertheless we ought to hope well from fortune, but we have taken ill Counsel.* So he retired, after having invited *Messala* to Supper with him the next night, the morrow being his birth-day.

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## CHAP. XLIX.

*The Battel of Philippi. Brutus overthrows Cæsar's Troops. Cassius being defeated by Antonius, in despair kills himself.*

**A**T break of day there appeared the Coat Armour of Purple upon the two Generals Tents, which amongst the Romans was the signal of Battel, so whilst that the Troops were putting themselves in a readines, *Cassius* was desirous to know *Brutus's* opinion of what they ought to doe in case matters should miscarry. *Brutus* said, That he had heretofore in his Writings condemned the death of *Cato*, and maintained (what was indeed very true) that that manner of avoiding such disgraces as Providence sends upon us, was a horrible attempt against the power of Heaven, and



wicked in the eyes of men; but that he had now altered his opinion, since being no longer Master of one life, which he had sacrificed to his Countrey upon the Ides of March, he was resolved to change it for a happier if Fortune proved his Enemy. *Cassius* imbraced him, and smiling, told him, Now we may go on upon the Enemy, for either we will be Conquerours our selves, or we will have no cause to fear those that are so. This was doubtless a sure method for the preventing any farther fear, but it is very apparent by this discourse, that for this resolution they were more beholding to their frailty, than to that greatness of Soul whereon they so much valued themselves, for it was neither this Opinion, nor *Caesar's* death that deserves those Heroick Titles which *Cicero* in his Epistles hath given them. They afterwards appointed their order of Battel, *Brutus* had the right Wing with *Messala*, and *Cassius* the left. The Triumviri's Army was already drawn up, *Antonius* onely Commanded, because *Caesar* was sick, whose Troops had the left Wing, and *Antonius's* the right. At last about Noon he marched against *Cassius* with the party that he headed. The inequality of the ground forced his Legions upon such a motion, that *Brutus's* Troops believed they were coming against them, so that without expecting the Word or the Commands of their General, they advanced to receive them. *Antonius* avoided the ingaging, by a motion which he made to the right to go against *Cassius*. He lost some Souldiers there,

there, and must have been fallen upon in the flank, if *Caesar's* Army had not advanced. *Brutus's* Souldiers marched without order, but with so much heat, that at the first onset they overthrew all that opposed them. *Messala* followed by three Legions, pushed even into *Caesar's* Camp, who had just left it, and was retreated very sick to *Antonius's*. They found his Litter, which they pierced several times through and through, so that a report began to be spread about that he was slain. He has since written, *That one of his Friends called \* Artorius, persuaded him to this retreat upon the occasion of a dream.* The slaughter was great in *Caesar's* Camp, and there fell in it 2000. Lacedemonians who fought on his side. Three of his Legions were also cut to pieces upon the spot, and *Brutus* must have obtained an intire Victory, could he possibly have governed the fury of his Souldiers, who would needs engage themselves too far. *Antonius* knew well how to make his advantage of this Errour, and without changing, went directly upon *Cassius*, who expected him in Battalia upon the advanced ground, the Combat was very rough, and after several takings and re-takings of each other, they fell together Bell-mell with their Swords in their hands. In the mean time a Party of *Antonius's* Souldiers opened a passage through the Lines, at the bottom of the Marsh, and when they came up, charging *Cassius's* Troops upon the flank, overthrew them with great slaughter. *Antonius* Com-  
mand

\* This was  
a Physici-  
an.

manded four Legions to pursue the Victory over the Marsh, hastening the others to *Cassius's* Camp, which was very ill guarded, by reason that all the Souldiers were come forth to the Battel, he soon made himself Master of it, which raised so great a consternation in the rest of the Army, that they immediately dispersed themselves. *Cassius* did upon this occasion all that could be expected from a man of Courage, he returned several times to the charge, and took himself the Eagle out of an Ensigns hand, who was running away, and held it a long time before him, but he forgot the duty of a General, when he so long tamely expected *Antonius*, whom he ought to have charged at the same time that *Brutus* went on. At last his Guards forsaking him, he was forced to retreat up to an advanced ground near the City of *Philippi*. He had lost eight thousand Men, reckoning the Sutlers that were killed in his Camp. But there were once as many slain on *Cesar's* side, from whom there were taken three Eagles, and several other Colours, by which *Brutus* believing he had gotten an intire Victory, led back his Troops loaden with pillage to his Camp, when observing that in *Cassius's* Camp the Tents were thrown down, and perceiving by the number, and the Arms of those Souldiers who were within, that they were Enemies, he immediately detached a body of Cavalry to hasten to the relief of his Friend, though by misfortune that relief did but add speed to his ruine.

*Cassius*.

*Cassius* was short sighted, and besides, the dust which the fight had raised all over the Field, hindred him from distinguishing *Brutus's* Troops. Nevertheless he saw confusedly some Cavalry marching, and sent *Titinius*, one of his Friends to discover what they were. He was received with great cries of joy by *Brutus's* Cavalry, who embracing him, asked him, *What news of his General.* *Cassius* perceiving this from the place where he was, and believing that those men who ran to embrace *Titinius*, had taken him Prisoner, *Alas*, said he, *to preserve the remainder of a miserable life, I have exposed my best friend to be taken.* At these words he went into a Tent with the Gentleman of his Horse, whose name was *Pindarus*; we have no very good account of what passed there; but *Cassius* was found dead of a wound in his Neck, and *Pindarus* never appeared afterwards. *Titinius* arrived within a moment with the Cavalry, and all rejoicing, but their joy was soon turned into a sad affliction, and *Titinius* after having accused himself of folly and laziness, slew himself upon the body of his Friend.

## CHAP. L.

*Brutus's Melancholy. His Fleet defeats that of Cæsar and Antonius, and Brutus knows not of it. He speaks to his Troops to confirm them.*

**B**RUTUS was extremely sorrowfull for the death of his Companion, whom he called the last of the Romans, and causing his body privately to be removed, sent it to *Thasos*, to pay him the last Offices of Funeral. In the mean time he told his Friends, *That he thought him very happy in that he was now beyond the reach of those misfortunes which remained yet for them to suffer.* In effect, his death utterly discomposed the whole affairs of the Conspiratours, and it will not be improper to say that *Cassius* killed himself in despite of his good Fortune. Several have reported that he knew of *Brutus's* Victory, and that the same day whereon they fought at *Philippi*, they overthrew *Cæsar's* Fleet, which was carrying Provisions to the Triumviri, together with a strong relief, consisting of two Legions, and *Cæsar's* Company of Guards. *Marcus* and *Domitius* had performed this good service against another *Domitius* surnamed *Calvinus*, who in this fight either by the Sword or by fire, lost the best of his Souldiers, and almost all his Ships. This defeat must have ruined the Triumviri beyond all hopes of recovery, had *Brutus* but been informed of it, but the negligence  
or



or malice of some of his Officers hindered the giving him any account of the matter, and his own vexation and impatience hastened on his ruine, or to speak more properly, the Divine Providence did it, which now seemed resolved to put an end to the Civil Wars, by appointing a Master over the Roman Empire. The next day after the fight, *Brutus* called together the Souldiers of both Armies; where after having praised the Valour of his own men, and the Victory they had gotten, he exhorted them, *To shew once more how obedient they could be, and observe their Generals better than they had done before.* He gave them to understand the necessities the Enemies were reduced to, *And that that was the onely cause of their boldness and courage, since they would never have sought to have fallen in Battel, had they not been afraid of being starv'd by Famine.* He caused also 1000 Drachma's to be given to every Souldier, with a promise, *That after the Victory, they should have the liberty of plundering the two Cities of Lacedemon and Theſſalonica,* by which, in the judgment even of those Authours who have appeared most zealous for his memory, he strayed very wide of those sentiments of humanity and moderation which he had all his life time affected. *Antonius* also having occasion to speak to his men, made a good use of the death of *Cassius*; *It is, said he, an unanswerable proof that our Enemies are defeated, they can never dare to dispute the Victory with us, since the bravest and most able of their Generals*  
has

has been driven to so desperate a proceeding; but it is our business to force them themselves to this Confession, and offer them Battel. If they shall be so faint-hearted as to refuse it, ye shall see that they will acknowledge themselves Conquered. He did not moreover forget to speak of Rewards, and promised 5000 Drachma's to every Souldier, after which he marched his Troops in Battalia, till they came in sight of Brutus's Lines, who did not draw out, so that though Antonius were himself at the point of despair, he omitted not to make his Souldiers sensible how fearfull their Enemies were, and dayly to indeavour the bringing of them to a Battel. Brutus had moreover other troubles in his Camp, Cassius's Troops would hardly obey him, and the shame of their having been beaten, began to make them Mutinous, this forc't him to rid himself of what Prisoners he had taken, so the Romans he set at liberty, and put the Slaves to the Sword. At last Antonius and Caesar, (who now began to be fit for action) being pressed by the ill condition that their Troops were in, who by the Rains and the Frost that followed, suffered extremely in those deep places, where they were encamped, made an attempt, which succeeded to their wishes, and decided the matter.

## CHAP. LI.

*Brutus utterly defeated by Antonius and Cæsar.*

**B**RUTUS had since the last Battel quit-  
ted an advanced ground, which was  
within the compass of *Cassius's* Camp, *Cæsar*  
immediately took possession of that Post  
with two of his Legions, who fortified them-  
selves there. Afterwards he sent ten other  
Legions about a quarter of a League from  
thence towards the Sea, with a design to cut  
off any Provisions from coming to the Con-  
spiratours. *Brutus* on his part caused divers  
Works to be carried on, by which means  
they were several days disputing for the  
ground foot to foot by their Works. At  
last, *Brutus's* Souldiers mutined, they got to-  
gether in Troops up and down the Field, and  
demanded, *What Cowardlinefs their General*  
*had lately observed in them, that he could suffer*  
*the Enemy dayly to come and brave them with*  
*safety, that he would give them leave to make use*  
*of those Arms, and that Courage which their Ene-*  
*mies had been so often made sensible of.* *Brutus*  
for some time dissembled his resentment, and  
afterwards fearing lest they should forsake  
him, which he began ready to have strong  
suspicions of, he all of a sudden gave way  
to the impatience of his People, and resol-  
ved to put an end to his as well as the Ro-  
mans inquietudes, by the fortune of Arms.  
It is reported that the Spectre which had ap-  
peared

peared to him, came to him again the night before this great Battel, but that it onely appeared without saying any thing. That the Eagle which belonged to his first Legion, was covered with Bees, and that a certain sweat in the nature of Oil, which had the perfume of Roses, came from the Arme of one of his Captains in such quantity, that it wet several handkerchiefs. The Authours of those times also report, that the first man whom *Brutus's* Troops met withall as they drew out of their Camp, was a Negro; whom they cut to pieces with their Swords. The Souldiers of both parties were encouraged from different reasons, those of the Triumviri saw that they must either Conquer or die with Famine. And *Brutus's* men were resolved to maintain the honour of their first Victory, and that boldness wherewith they had demanded Battel contrary to the Opinion of their General. *Brutus* was in the foremost rank very well mounted, *Fellow Souldiers* (said he to his People) *ye have desired to fight contrary to my Opinion, when the miseries which our Enemies were reduced to, might have assured us the Victory without any hazard, but that did not appear honourable enough for you, ye are for buying glory at the price of your blood, and now it lies upon you to complete the business, and not to deceive that trust which I have reposed in your Valour.* On the other side *Cesar* and *Antonius* said to their Souldiers, *Thus ye see now our Enemies in a place where we have a long time wished them, they*  
are

are now no longer covered with those Fortifications which made them so bold before, so that their destiny is in your own hands, though ye have but one thing to chuse, which is to overcome, or perish by the most miserable of deaths, which is that of Famine. After this the two Armies advanced within the reach of their Darts, when in the very moment appeared two Eagles in the Air, who began a cruel fight together, and drew the admiration of all the Troops, that which was on *Brutus's* side was beaten, and fled away, which so animated the Souldiers of the *Triumviri*, that they gave a great shout, and marched on with fury, they lanced their Javelins as it had been onely for fashion sake, and the Legions came immediately hand to hand. The fight was long and bloody, the right Wing, which *Brutus* led, drove back that of *Antonius*, but at the same time his left recoiled before *Caesar's* Legions. There was afterwards no more giving of ground, and what was won was won by force of Arms, like a heavy Engine that can hardly be removed. At last *Caesar's* Cavalry having repulsed those of *Cassius*, who behaved themselves very ill, gained the flank of the Conspiratour's left Wing; the fear of being hemmed in made them open their Battalions to the right and left, that they might make head every way. *Caesar's* Men charged into intervals and broke them to pieces, then that Line gave way, and turning upon the second, produced nothing



but fear and disorder, a proceeding contrary to what had been used in the first Batel, caused at this time the loss of *Brutus*; for those Troops terrified and prest hard by *Cesar*, came tumbling upon the Wing which *Brutus* commanded, and notwithstanding all that he could doe to rally them broke it in pieces. *Cato's* Son, who commanded under him, seeing that all must now inevitably be lost, ran into the thickest of the Enemy's Battalions, and uttring aloud his own Name and his Father's, was there slain. *Cesar* and *Antonius* neglected none of their advantages, and on every side charged those Troops which were in disorder. *Antonius* took care to follow the victory, and *Cesar* not being able to doe it, commanded *Norbanus* to go to the Enemy's Camp, where a great slaughter was made of those who confusedly were retreating. Almost all *Brutus's* best Officers perished in this fight, by endeavouring to save the person of their General. A body of Thracian Cavalry, commanded by *Rhastus*, pursued him very hard, and must have taken him had it not been for *Lucilius*, who was his best friend. This Man charged the Thracians and stopped them, till seeing himself encompassed round, he cried out that he was *Brutus*, and demanded Quarter, desiring that they would carry him to *Antonius*. These Cavaliers, transported with their good fortune, sent word of it to *Antonius*, and brought him their Prisoner:  
He

He notwithstanding all his hatred could not but be concerned at this adventure, which cost him many reflexions. He was extremely confounded to think how he ought to behave himself to those that brought him the news, and who appeared before him with different opinions of the matter, when *Lucilius* shewing himself in the midst of those who conducted him; *No Man* (said he to *Antonius*) *shall ever have the honour to take Brutus alive, nor will the Gods permit that Fortune shall have such advantage over his Vertue, but he will always be found, whether dead or living, in a condition that becomes his Courage. I have here delivered my self up to save him, I am now in your hands, and you may dispose of my life just as you please.* *Antonius* could not but admire the vertue of the Man, and told the Thracians, that they were much happier than they believed they were, since in stead of the enemy whom they thought they had brought him, they had made him a present of a friend. Indeed *Lucilius* was afterwards one of his first friends, and to the day of his death discharged himself with an inviolable fidelity.

## C H A P. LII.

*Brutus's last Words and Death. Messala goes over to Cæsar with all his Forces.*

**T**HIS contrivance of *Lucilius* and the night together gave *Brutus* time to pass over a little River, and make his retreat up to an advanced ground which was hard by. There (lifting up his eyes to Heaven) \* *unhappy Vertue*, said he, *I follow thee as a solid good, but thou art onely a thing merely talked of, a vain empty name, or at best a slave of fortune.* He afterwards repeated several times another Greek Verse which signifies, *Punish, great Jove, the author of these evils*, by which it was thought he designed *Antonius*, who afterwards remembered it when he was driven to that extremity by *Cæsar* after the Battel of *Actium*. Afterwards, with abundance of praises as well as sighs, he repeated the names of all those of his friends whom he had seen perish upon that occasion. One of those who was still with him complained that he was thirsty, and the Souldiers running to the River fetched water in their Helmets and brought it. *Volumnius* a noble Senatour, who had been gone out to discover what might be the reason of a certain noise which they had then heard, returned at this time, and asking if there were any water, *We have all drank*, (said *Brutus* to him smiling) but do

do not you be troubled, for the spring is not far off, so the Souldiers returned to the River, but had much adoe to get back again, and were several of them wounded, which gave *Brutus* to understand that he was invested; then he exhorted those that were with him to make some attempt to get to their Camp, which yet held out; but they had lost all their courage, and told him that he would doe better to think of saving himself. I know very well (answered he) that I ought to doe it, but it is with my hands and not with my feet. Then *Statilius*, one of his Officers, offered to go by himself to the Camp, and that if it were not taken, to advance a lighted Flambeau in the air for a signal. The Flambeau appeared, which gave some hopes to *Brutus*, so he expected a long time, saying, *Statilius* would come if he were alive. But he was slain in his return by some Souldiers belonging to one of those Corps du guard which the Triumviri had every where posted. At last *Brutus*, wearied with expectation, and seeing that the day approached, whispered something in the ear of one of his Domesticks, whose name was *Clitus*, and who answered him nothing, but fell a-weeping, which made *Brutus* call *Dardannus*, who served him as General of his Horse, to him also he said something and addressed himself afterwards to *Volumnius*, who has written all these particulars. But seeing they onely answered him with their tears, he raised himself up and made them

a short discourse to thank them for that fidelity wherewith they had so generously and to the last extremity followed his fortune. He said *he looks upon himself much happier than any of his Conquerours, since he should enjoy that reputation which always follows Vertue, and which Tyranny and Injustice can never deserve.* He conjured his friends to think of preserving their lives, since he hoped that *Cesar* and *Antonius* being satisfied with his death, would not pursue their cruelty any farther. He afterwards went aside some few paces with a certain Greek, whose name was *Sirato*, a very learned Rhetorician; and for that reason by him highly esteemed; he begged of this man, by that strict League that was made between them, to doe that office for him which those other friends had refused, and seeing that he could not resolve upon it, he called for a slave. *Ah!* (then said *Sirato*) *it shall never be said that Brutus in his last extremity stood in need of the assistance of a slave for want of a friend,* so turning away his head, he presented the point of his sword to *Brutus*, who threw himself upon it with such violence that it pierced him through, and he died immediately. Thus did this Man, born with so great advantages and qualified so well, by a tragical end pay for that horrible ingratitude wherewith he had dyed his hands in the blood of a Man to whom he stood indebted for the highest favours. It is a crime which can never be washed off from his memory

*The year of  
the World  
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the building  
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Rome 712.  
before the  
birth of our  
Saviour 41.*



mory, no not by all the Vertue which he so ill employed, both in that action and at his death. Several have reported circumstances otherwise, but all agree in this, that *Messala* a long time afterwards presenting *Serato* to *Augustus* said, See here, *Cæsar*, the Man who paid the last offices to my *Brutus*, and that *Augustus* extremely cherished *Serato*, who afterwards served him very<sup>a</sup> faithfully. *Antonius* hearing the next day of *Brutus's* death, went to the place where the Body still lay, and covered it himself with a rich Coat of Armour which he wore, and when news was brought him afterwards that some body had stripped him, he caused the Thief to be taken and put to death. The Body was burnt by his orders, and the ashes sent to *Servilia*, *Brutus's* Wife, whose name was *Porcia*, and was *Cato* of *Utica's* Daughter, so that having such a Father, and such a Husband, we may easily imagine what were the maxims of that Vertue which she so openly made profession of; and she was resolved to give proofs of it by a death by which she out-did the fury of those two Men whom she most tenderly loved. And though since the death of her Husband she was so strictly observed, that it was impossible for her either to make use of Poison or Dagger, she swallowed so many hot Coals and Ashes that she choaked her self. Though, to speak the truth of the matter, there is a great deal of reason to believe that this kind of death was rather invented

by the Wits, who were desirous to report that tragical adventure in all its circumstances, and make, as they have done; a  
 \* *Mart. l. 1.* Subject for a good \* Epigram; since *Plutarch* assures us that he had seen some of *Brutus's* Letters, wherein he complains of his friends at *Rome* for suffering *Porcia* to die of Melancholy. *Brutus's* Friends and his Officers took different parties, all those who knew themselves guilty of *Julius Caesar's* death, slew themselves with their own hands; the others rallying with *Messala*, *Bibulus* and *Cornificius*, sent Deputies to *Cesar* and *Antonius* for an honourable composition, which the two Generals frankly allowed of, so they went into their Army with 14000 Men, who yet might have made a great deal of disturbance in a fortified Camp, and that was the reason which facilitated the Capitulation. And the Camp was afterwards given up to be plundered. By this famous overthrow the Triumviri at last established themselves in an authority, which none were found powerfull enough to dispute with them, and which gave the last blow to the Roman liberty. The death of *Cesar* was revenged, and by this Victory did his Son begin to lay the foundations of an Empire, which at last for its grandeur and extent has never yet been equalled.

T H E

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THE  
CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
Second Triumvirate.

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CHAP. I.

*After the Battel of Philippi, Anthony and  
Cæsar bring their Enemies to punishment.  
They part the Forces of Pompey. Cæsar  
goes into Italy.*

AS the love of Liberty was the most  
predominant passion the Romans had,  
so never any people defended with  
more vigour that good which they valued  
more than their Lives. It was this that  
bred so many divisions among them, and  
was the cause of such bloody Wars; in  
which

which one of the parties always had the specious pretence of upholding the publick Liberty: But as the last sighs and groans are usually most violent, so the Battel of *Philippi*, which was the last effort of the dying Commonwealth, was the greatest struggle that ever she had for the maintaining her authority. The Sedition of the *Gracchi* was the first where the Bloud of Roman Citizens was shed, however that seemed to be but onely a Popular Commotion, seeing it was decided in the Forum in an hours time. The Wars that were kindled afterwards between *Marius* and *Sylla* had longer and more fatal consequences: But then *Italy*, or rather *Rome*, onely was the Theatre of them; and what animosity soever appeared between the two Parties the rest of the World felt nothing of it. The division of *Cesar* and *Pompey* went much farther, the whole Roman Empire was shaken by it: But although all its Forces had fought at *Pharsalia*, they were not comparable to those that appeared afterwards at the Battel of *Philippi*, where above 200000 effective Men were in Arms, commanded by the greatest Generals of that time. Besides too, in the forementioned Commotions, several Senatours thought they might very well stand neuter's out of their respect to the Commonwealth, whose name at least in appearance was still revered, whereas in this last occasion, the mask being laid aside by the proceeding and declarations of the

the

the Triumvirs all management and conduct was useless, and there was an absolute necessity of taking one side or t'other, for Liberty or against it. But that was utterly ruined by the defeat of *Brunus*, and from that moment *Cæsar* and *Anthony* began to act as Sovereigns and divide the Roman Empire as theirs by Conquest; for though *Lepidus* had his share of the Government, yet as he had had none in the danger of the Wars, he was but very little considered, all the love of the Souldiers, which was the firmest prop of their Empire, being turned in favour of those that had headed them upon all occasions. The following days after the Victory were employ'd by the Triumvirs in punishing their foes; *Anthony* sacrificed *Hortensius* to the memory of his Brother *Caius*, and put *Varro* to death, who reproach'd him with his debauches, and in some sort did then foretell the miserable end he himself should come to. *Livius Drusus*, the Father of that *Livia* who was afterwards married to *Augustus* killed himself in his Tent, and *Quintilius Varus* adorned with all the marks of the honours and dignities he had passed through, made himself be slain by his freedman. *Cæsar* upon this occasion appeared much more cruel than *Anthony*, whether it were that the pain and uneasiness of his sickness had soured his humour, or that he really had a bent to cruelty, or what is more likely had his temper so much at command, that he



he put on gentleness or severity as in policy was necessary. He sent the Head of *Brunus* to *Rome* to be thrown at the Feet of his Father's statue, and forced a Senatour and his Son to draw Lots for their lives, but they both refused it; the Father voluntarily gave up himself to execution, and the Son stab'd himself before *Cesar's* face. To another that beg'd of him that he might have the Rites of Burial, he said that *that would soon be at the disposal of the Ravens*; these and such like bitter words, joined to the rigour of his punishments, rendred him so odious to the rest of the Prisoners that were brought fettered before them, that they saluted *Anthony* with respect, but loaded *Cesar* with injuries and bloody reproaches, which none did with more violence than *Favonius*, who at his death took all the liberty of speech and railing freedom of a Cynick Philosopher. After having thus satisfied their revenge, the Triumvirs thought upon estabishing their authority. *Anthony* undertook to go into *Asia* to gather Money in those Provinces that were tributary to the *Romans*; and *Cesar* took upon him to lead the old Troops into *Italy* to put them in possession of the Lands that were promised them. This Commission was an undertaking both nice and full of danger. *Cesar* had to doe with Souldiers who thought they had right to give Laws even to their Commanders for the great services they had done them, and who would never have  
wanted

wanted welcome entertainment from the other side; for the remainders of the contrary Faction did still subsist in the persons of *Domitius* and *Staius Murcus*, the Lieutenant-Generals of *Brutus* who had both very powerfull Fleets; for *Cassius* of *Parma* had joined them with thirty Rhodian Ships assisted by *Clodius Forulus* and young *Cicero*, so that they were able to make a considerable progress had they remained united, but their ambition divided them. *Domitius*, who would be independent and head of the Party, quitted *Murcus*, who thereupon went and joined with *Pompey*, the most dangerous Enemy of the Triumvirs. He was Master of *Sicily*, and very strong at Sea, and if he had had but as much conduct as he had valour, he would have been able to dispute the Empire of the World with them, or at least have shared it; but for want of good education, learning and knowledge, he was of so irresolute a temper, that though he had a brisk and ready wit, he so wholly abandoned himself to the management of his freedom, that he seemed rather to be their Slave. Among them *Menas* and *Meneceates* were of most authority, they commanded his Troops made up of fugitive Slaves, and of those Souldiers that the fury of the Triumvirs had driven out of *Italy*: but that which more maintained the reputation of this Party was the great number of noble persons that were proscribed, who had fled for refuge into *Sicily*, like those driven by storms

storms, to whom a small shelter or an open Road appears a safe harbour. The arrival of *Murcus* encreased his Forces; nevertheless he did not oppose *Cesar*, who returned into *Italy* with five Legions and 4000 Horse; *Anthony* having kept with him 10000 and six Legions. They had disbanded the rest of their Army, after they had satisfied them with what Money they had left, and what they found in the Conspiratours Camp. They were all old Souldiers whose time of service was expired, and who besides that pretended to the rewards and inheritances that had been promised them; 'twas this that was the most perplexing business and important care of the Triumvirs. Though the 43 Legions they had in the beginning of the War were by this time reduced to 28, they had still need of vast sums to pay according to their promise 5000 Drachmas to every private Souldier, almost 100*li*. and to the others in proportion; this was the principal motive of *Anthony's* expedition into *Asia*, he had besides the Legions 4000 old Souldiers, Volunteers, who served him as his Guards, and as many remained with *Cesar* in the same post.

## C H A P. II.

Anthony goes into Grecia, he stays at Athens, he goes into Asia, where he is honourably received, his Speech to the Deputies.

**A**NTHONY loved his pleasure above all other things, and upon the least respite he had from business he always follow'd his natural bent and inclination. After the atchievement of such a famous Victory that seemed to be gained wholly by him, he could not refuse himself the satisfaction of seeing *Greece*, it being the Country of the World where flattery was managed with most delicacy; to gain the hearts of this People, he would needs disrobe himself of all kind of Majesty, that rendered him any ways formidable to them, he was familiarly present at the conferences of the Philosophers at *Athens*, and made great Presents to that City, and never was better pleased than when he was called the Friend and Patron of the Greeks, or a lover of the Athenians. He administered justice with great gentleness and equity, and was always giving them some taste of his rallying humour, as when those of *Megara* earnestly desired he would go and see the place of their Assemblies, imagining he would admire the structure of it; he went thither and after he had intently viewed it,  
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when one took the boldness to ask him what he thought of it, *it appears to me*, saith he, *to be very little, and ready to fall to ruine.* He took the measures of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, out of a design to finish it, as he had promised the Senate; and then leaving *Marcus Censorius* to command in *Greece*, he went over into *Asia* with all his Troops. There all the Princes of the East that acknowledged the Roman power, came to make their court to him, and the fairest Princesses strove to gain his favour either by the charms of their Beauty or the magnificence of their Presents. This crowd of Sovereigns that daily waited in his Antichamber with their praises and submissions did most agreeably flatter his ambition, but the manner of his reception at *Ephesus* wrought it up to intolerable pride. The inhabitants went to meet him drest like Fawns and Satyrs, the Women like Bacchanals, armed with Thirses, crowned with Ivy, and covered with Tyger's Skins; all this was accompanied with a pleasant consort of Flutes, Hoboys and other instruments. They called *Anthony Bacchus*, Father of the Graces and Gentleness; and indeed the name suited him well, but not in respect of every body. 'Tis true indeed he pardoned all those of *Brutus's* Party that surrendred themselves to him, except *Petronius* and *Quintus*, the first was charged with being one of the Conspiratours against *Cesar*, and the other with betraying *Dolabella*



*bella* in *Laodicea*, but then he took away the Estates of several rich Citizens to enrich his Flatterers and Bouffons, who making people that were in perfect health believe they were dead, very impudently went and beg'd their Estates: Among others a Cook of his, for dressing him a Supper that pleased him, got the House of a wealthy inhabitant of *Magnesia*. In the mean time, being pressed by the necessity of giving his Troops satisfaction, he assembles all the Deputies of all those that were either subjects or allies of the Roman Empire in *Asia*, and harangued them after this manner. *Gentlemen, ye must needs be sensible of the advantages ye have enjoyed under the Government of the Romans, and with what gentleness they have governed you ever since Attalus at his death bequeathed you to them; they freely remitted all those Taxes ye paid to that Prince and his predecessors, till the ambition of some of our Citizens, making them rebell against us, we were obliged to draw some supply of money which we wanted from these Provinces; but it was with such moderation that the Tax was much beneath what ye were able to give. As our design was not to ruine you, we only demanded a part of your revenue, that at least we might have our share of your assistance as well as our Enemies, who, far from treating you with the same lenity, exacted much more from you by down-right violence, and against the authority of the Senate. Ye may very well remember that Julius Cæsar generously forgave*

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you the third part of the impost ye granted him, and having regard to your Petitions and complaints, gave leave that ye your selves should gather the Taxes among your own Subjects, yet all these testimonies of his clemency and humanity have not been able to hinder some ill-minded Senatours from making him pass for a Tyrant; they declared themselves our enemies because we endeavoured to revenge the murder of him, who was both our friend and our General, but ye, notwithstanding the great obligations ye owed him, have not been ashamed to assist his murtherers with vast sums of Money. And since that ye would needs run their fortune in the War, and that the Gods have been pleased to grant the Victory, not according to your wishes but their own justice, there is all the reason in the world we should treat you as the allies, or indeed as the accomplices of our Foes, and that we should impose some punishment upon you. But as we are willing to believe that this fault is rather the effect of their violence than your will, we shall not proceed against you with any cruel or insupportable punishments. Ye know without doubt we owe our Souldiers large recompences, as the reward of the Victories they have gained, and for this we have engaged both our Words and Oaths. These rewards ought to be given in Money, in Lands and in Houses. We have 28 Legions, which make 170000 Men, besides some other Troops, not counting the Cavalry, nor the Veterans that have obtained their dismissal, so that ye may judge of our  
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occasions by the number of our Souldiers. 'Twas this that obliged Cæsar to go into Italy to distribute these rewards in Lands and Houses. Even whole Cities will scarce be sufficient for this design, which at the same time will alter the state and circumstances of that Province: But because we will not take your Cities and inheritances from you, nor drive you from your Temples and the Sepulchres of your Forefathers, all the punishment ye have deserved shall be imposed in Money, without forcing you however to give us all ye are worth. But even this proceeding too is displeasing to us, it seems too rigorous; and we are resolved to doe nothing but what shall be approved of by reasonable and uninterested Persons. We demand of you onely what ye gave our Adversaries, which is ten years Tribute; but as ye paid it to them in two years time, we require it of you in one, for our occasions that press us constrain us to decree it so; and besides the love and esteem ye seem to have for us should make you have the same sentiments. This is all the pain ye shall endure, seeing the Laws of humanity permit not always that the punishment should be proportionable to the crime. All those that were present threw themselves weeping at the feet of Anthony. They remonstrated to him that Their assisting Brutus and Cassius could not be laid to their charge as a crime, because they were forced to it, and that by such intolerable usage, that they were rather objects of mercy and pity than punishment. That they should esteem themselves ever

too happy to be able to assist those to whom they were so much obliged with all they were worth; but since their Enemies had taken not onely all their Gold and Silver that was coined, but all the Plate and ornaments of the Cities and Temples, they were reduced to the utmost extremity. This Discourse not being able to satisfie *Anthony*, the Oratour *Hybreas* told him boldly enough, *My Lord*, If you would exact from us in one year what we are but able to pay in two, you should that year give us two Harvests and two Vintages. This liberty of speech did not at all displease *Anthony*, for he loved a thing well said; and the same *Hybreas* upon another occasion said to him, *Asia* has already paid to you 200000 Talents, if the Money did not come to your hands bring them to an account that received it, but if it did and you have none of it left we are undone. At length after many contests, these Deputies beseeched *Anthony* to be contented with the Tax of nine years to be paid in two, which he granted them. So all the tributary Kings and Princes of *Asia*, with the free Cities, and all the People in general were obliged to contribute to the payment of this sum. *Anthony* after this went a progress all about the Countrey, where he gave extraordinary demonstrations of his generosity and good nature. He pardoned *Lucius*, Brother to *Cassius*, and several others of his Enemies, whom the report of his clemency drew out of the places where they were hid; onely he spared none that had

had a hand in the death of *Cesar*, or were of the number of the Conspiratours. *Lycia* that was laid waste by *Brutus* he exempted from the contribution. He persuaded the *Xanthians* to rebuild their City; to the *Rhodians* he gave *Andros*, *Tenos* and *Gnidos*. Those of *Tharsus* and *Laodicea* enjoyed freedom from the imposition in consideration that they had been severely used by *Cassius*, and set at liberty those of these two Cities that had been made Slaves. Amongst the rest he was not unmindfull of the *Athenians*, but gave them the Isle of *Egina*; so that the whole weight of the contribution fell heaviest upon the People of the lesser *Asia*, *Syria*, *Phrygia*, *Mysia* and *Gallatia*, who were extremely haralled, as likewise were the Provinces of *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia* and *Palestine*. *Anthony* then made himself sovereign Judge of the differences between the Kings of those Countries, as in *Cappadocia* between *Ariarathes* and *Tyzenes*, for whom the beauty of his Mother *Glaphyra* was so powerfull as to carry the Crown from his Competitour. At this time he received very favourably the Embassy from *Hircanus*, King and High-priest of the Jews, and began to give *Herod* marks of his favour for the services he had received from his Father *Antipater*.



## C H A P. III.

*Cleopatra Queen of Ægypt her Character, she comes to Anthony, their interview, Anthony puts Arsinoe the Sister of Cleopatra to death.*

**A**Mong those Sovereigns whose destiny depended on the absolute will and disposition of *Anthony*, *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Ægypt*, by her conduct found she had reason both to hope and fear: She had managed her self like an adroit Politician in the time of the War, assisting *Dolabella* at the same time that *Serapion*, her Lieutenant in *Cyprus*, fought for *Cassius*; she knew well enough that this had not been very pleasing to the Triumviri, considering what she owed to the memory of *Julius Cesar*. The love of that great Man and her was sufficiently known to all the World, but as if she had been resolved to conquer and triumph over the Romans in the Persons of their Generals; she had received the Addresses of *Pompey's* eldest Son, so that never Beauty was ever signalized by more illustrious conquests. The amorous passions she had inspired when she was very young gave her such an opinion of her Charms as she hoped she easily might revive that flame in *Anthony's* heart of which heretofore he had given her testimony, when he commanded the Cavalry of *Gabinus* in *Ægypt*. But  
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above all it was her Wit that maintained this hope in her, for though her Person was very charming, and the beauty and brightness of her Eyes was not to be withstood, yet there were at *Rome* those of her Sex that did not yield to her in the least for Mein nor Beauty, but none could compare with her for the agreeableness of her Wit and her charming conversation; it was such a pleasure to hear her talk, and all her Discourse was animated with such an air as was not to be expressed, that it made an extraordinary impression upon all those that heard her; the very tone of her Voice, accompanied with the loveliness of her Eyes and the liveliness of her Wit never failed both to please and persuade. Then she expressed her self with so much facility in so many several Languages, that even that was enough to pass for a Prodigy. The most Barbarous Nations with wonder heard her answer their Ambassadors without an Interpreter; she understood, besides many others, the Ethiopian, the Troglodite, the Hebrew, the Arabian, Syrian, Median and Parthian Tongues, and it was the more admirable in her by reason several of the Kings her Predecessors had not been able to learn the Egyptian, and some of them had forgot the Macedonian, their own Mother Tongue. The great confidence she put in these her extraordinary accomplishments gave her more assurance to go to *Anthony*, who had sent *Delius* to

cite her to give an account of her conduct to him. *Dellius* was a Man of Wit and Learning, and a famous Historian, but one of very ill principles: *Messala* called him the Vaulter of the Civil Wars; for he went from the service of *Dolabella* to *Cassius's* side, and then quitted *Cassius* for *Anthony*, and at last traiterously left *Anthony* and went over to *Cesar*: And his character and disposition was suitable, being of the number of those Fellows who have always a base compliance for all the inclinations of their Masters. And as he very well understood the humour of *Anthony*, he had no sooner beheld the Beauty of the Queen, and was sensible of the address and power of her Wit and understanding, but he easily judged what sentiments she was likely to inspire him with. It is reported too that he was so sensible of *Cleopatra's* Charms as to engage his Heart, and that she was not displeased with his Love (and indeed in the time of *Seneca*, there went about Letters of his to that Queen, written with a little too much familiarity) however, he omitted nothing that might please her; he assured her that *Anthony* was the best natured and most Gentile humoured Man in the World, to Persons of so extraordinary merit and such admirable qualifications, and that she had nothing to apprehend, unless it were making him too much in love with her, which she did not fear in the least. She then prepared to meet him, but in

in so gallant a manner, that at first sight it made a most pleasing impression upon his Soul. *Anthony* waited for her in *Cilicia*. *Cleopatra* arriving at the mouth of the River *Cydnus*, embarked her self upon a Vessel whose Poop was of Gold, the Sails of Purple Silk, the Oars of Silver, which gently kept time to a Symphony made by a consort of excellent Musick. The Queen was laid under a Canopy of rich Cloth of Gold, drest like *Venus* rising out of the Sea, about her were lovely Children like *Cupids* fanning her, the handsomest of her Women habited like Nereids and Graces were leaning negligently on the sides and shrowds of the Vessels; the sweets that were burning perfumed the Banks of the River, which were covered with an infinite number of People, who ran thither with such earnestness that *Anthony*, who was mounted on a Throne to make a shew of Majesty, was left quite alone whilst all the Multitude that flocked to the River shouted for joy, and cried that the Goddess *Venus* was come to visit the God *Bacchus* for the happiness of Asia. *Anthony* thought himself obliged in civility to desire her to land and sup with him, but she replied it would be better if he supped with her, which he did not refuse lest he should appear ill bred. He was surprised at the neatness and magnificence of the entertainment, but that which he most admired was the ingenious placing of the Lights, which both adorned and enlightned the Hall, being so dispo-

disposed as they made a hundred several delightfull figures. The next day he in his turn would treat her, and endeavoured all he could to outgo her in a sumptuous entertainment, but he himself soon perceived he was far short of it, so that turning all to railery, he first began to laugh at the want of contrivance and ingenuity in his Attendants. All his mirth and jests were blunt and Souldier-like, which extremely pleased *Cleopatra*, and soon made her understand *Anthony's* true character and humour; but she carried on the railery with all the delicacy and dexterity imaginable, till at last taking a more serious air in her Discourses, she told him, that *she came not thither to clear her self but to be recompensed for the Services she had done him and Cæsar*: She insisted much upon the Forces she had sent with *Alienus* to the Assistance of *Dolabella*, and valued her self upon the Fleet she put to Sea in spight of *Cassius* and his Generals, which she commanded in person when it was scattered by storms, and underwent so many dangers in that expedition; in short, so many excellencies and charms both of Wit and Judgment appeared in her conversation, that *Anthony* could no longer defend his Heart, but from that moment entertained such a Passion for her, as was the cause of all the misfortunes of his life, and which ended not but with it. The first Sacrifice he made her was her Sister *Arctinoe*; he put her to death though she came to beg  
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his protection, after she had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Diana* at *Miletus*, and made *Serapion* give her up the City of *Tyre*. He drove away a false *Ptolemy*, whom (for his likeness to *Cleopatra's* Brother, who was defeated by *Julius Caesar*, and drowned in the *Nile*) those of *Aradus* had acknowledged for their King.

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## C H A P. IV.

*Cæsar's Sickness. He comes to Rome. His difficulties in distributing Rewards. The dangers he run upon this occasion.*

THIS Passion so fatal to *Anthony* was no less to all the Roman Empire, and *Italy* first of all began to feel the effects of it. *Cæsar* being landed there found himself so ill at *Brundisium* that the news of his death was reported every where; however, he wrote to the Senate that he should shortly be at *Rome*, and ordered thanks to be given to the Gods for the defeat of the Conspirators. This news was received according to the different inclinations of the Senators. Those that loved him were afflicted at his Sickness and wished his return, which others as much apprehended, out of fear, that the report that had run of his death was a trick to discover their intentions; and the terrour of these last was so great that

that some of them began to think of making away themselves; therefore to prevent the consequences of these different agitations, *Cæsar* came to *Rome* as soon as his strength would permit him. In pursuance of the agreement they had made when they parted, the Lieutenants of *Anthony* delivered him up two Legions, and the Government of *Africa*, which *Cæsar* left to *Lepidus*, having been convinced of the sincerity of his intentions (for some secret enemies of his had accused him to his Collegues of intelligence with *Pompey*. But the most pressing and difficult affair was to content the Souldiers without provoking the People; it was absolutely necessary either to abandon the several Towns destined for their recompence, or else to satisfie them with Money to establish themselves elsewhere. The publick Treasury was exhausted, and *Cæsar* saw no help from thence; almost all the Inhabitants of the Towns concerned in this matter were come to *Rome*. Women with Children in their Armes, whose young years and innocence drew every ones compassion, daily filled the Temples and publick places with their lamentations. The People said openly, that *this War had not been undertaken for the publick good, but only in pursuance of the Triumvirs private interest*, and that *since they had reaped the advantage of it, it was but reasonable that they should bear the charges, and not reward their Souldiers with the oppression of the poor People*.

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Those that thought themselves more politick, discoursing concerning this management of the Triumvirs, said, that by *establishing Troops in the Cities their intent was wholly to bring them under, and reduce them to a kind of slavery.* *Cesar* all this while was not ignorant of these complaints, and patiently bore these murmurings; but then he borrowed Money on all hands for his Men, and when that was not sufficient he was forced to give them Places for their inheritance. The Town of *Cremona* was one of those that suffered most in this distribution, for being so well affected to *Brutus's* side, and *Mantua* onely by reason of her neighbourhood had more than her share in these misfortunes, in which the Muses choicest Darling, and the greatest Wit and best Poet that ever *Rome* brought forth had like to have perished. This was the Poet *Virgil*, who was a party concerned in this publick calamity, for defending the possession of his small Estate from *Arrius* the Centurion, encouraged to it I suppose by the knowledge of his own merit and the friendship of some great Man at *Rome*; but the Souldier as little knew the one as he valued the other, and therefore the Poet was forced to fly and save himself from the Centurion, who persued him with his drawn Sword, by swimming cross a River. The happy Fate that attends on Learning saved him; and it's probable that this adventure contributed to his reputation, since it is  
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the Subject of that excellent Eclogue which is the first of his Bucolicks. *Cæsar* himself was not exempted from danger, for both Souldiers and People were equally mutinous and exasperated against him; for it hapned that a private Souldier, being seated among the Knights in the Amphitheatre to see the publick Shews, he made him be pulled from thence by an Officer; *Cæsar's* ill-willers immediately gave it out that he was drawn to punishment, the other Souldiers in great fury immediately mutined against him, and he had had difficulty enough to save his life from them if their Fellow had not presently appeared untouch'd. He was forced to endure all these insolencies by the necessity he had of the Souldiers to preserve his dignity, which he could not maintain without their assistance, and they too having all their hopes depending on their Generals, were for their own sakes absolutely obliged to protect them; and for this reason they kept in Arms and very well united among themselves. However, *Fulvia, Anthony's* Wife, made her advantage of these disorders to bring her designs about; the report of her Husband's unfaithfulness to her bed inclined her to be revenged on him in like manner: She would willingly had *Cæsar* partake in this piece of revenge, but he was not inclined to it, which drew upon him all the rage of this Woman, agitated at the same time with such a furious passion as jealousy, and more exasperated

exasperated by the frustrating her desires.

*Lucius*, Brother to *Anthony*, was then Consul; he had all the defects of his Brother, and not one of his vertues, at least if one would believe the Authours of that age, who living under the Empire of the Successours of the *Cæsars*, took care to make their Enemies odious in the characters they gave of them. But to say truth, if we consider the resolution he shewed at *Perusia*, there is reason to imagine that this account of theirs is extremely to his disadvantage. He was very much obliged to *Fulvia*, for having got him the honour of Triumph, for his conquering some Nations in the *Alps*; he was besides assisted by the counsel of *Manius*, *Anthony's* Friend, who was indeed a Man of sense, but very dangerous to deal with. To them did *Fulvia* represent that *Cæsar* doing all in his own name attributed to himself all the applause, as well as the conferring all manner of recompences and exemptions. She made *Lucius* sensible that it was convenient they should go together to the Quarters of *Anthony's* two Legions that were delivered to *Cæsar*, and with her she carried her Children. There they publickly declared that there was no need of depriving innocent persons of their Estates, since the possessions of the Triumvirs open and declared Enemies were sufficient to recompense the Souldiers. This discourse gained them the good Wills of all those who thought themselves



selves unjustly driven out of their inheritances, by reason they were not at all concerned in the Civil War. *Cæsar* saw well enough to what end these transactions tended, but as yet was not able to oppose them. *Lucius* proposed to him the staying for *Anthony* e'er he distributed the rewards, but the impatience of the Souldiers not allowing them time enough for that, he then agreed to appoint Commissioners in his name for that purpose, that so by that means he himself might gain the esteem of the Souldiers. They then therefore began to put *Anthony's* two Legions in possession of the Lands assigned them, but not till *Lucius* and *Fulvia* had exhorted them not to forget their General, who had always been a father to them, and to whom the honour of the Victory at *Philippi* was due, besides the Commissaries that were deputed, privily advised the Souldiers to use their own discretion, and doe what they pleased; which carried them to commit strange insolencies, and enlarge their bounds much beyond what was set them, even to the laying waste whole Towns. *Cæsar* in the mean time was the object of their complaints, and loaded with their curses, and on the other hand he found himself hemmed in by powerfull Enemies; for on one side *Pompey* hindered the importation of Provisions into the Ports of *Italy*, on the other side *Domitius* and *Murcus* were Masters of the Sea with their Fleets. 'Twas in these circumstances doubtless that  
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he found he had need to use all the prudence and address he was master of. He therefore exempted from the distribution the Lands of the Senators, and the Dowries of Widows, as likewise those Lands that could not maintain such a certain number of Souldiers; but then to content the Souldiery to whom these exemptions were not at all pleasing, he granted that the next kindred of those that were slain in the last Battels should have their share in the distribution. Thus he was forced to manage them by all the ways of gentleness he could, for the vigorous and bold actions of his Father *Julius* were now impracticable. The Troops were now sensible of the absolute necessity there was of them, and for that reason were obedient neither to their Superiours nor their Discipline, but as they themselves pleased; so that *Cesar* was cautious how he dealt with them in so dangerous a conjuncture, especially after what had hapned to him upon this occasion. He had appointed a day of Rendezvous to his Souldiers in the field of *Mars* that there he might proceed to the distribution of the Lands. They there met before day, and finding he came not soon enough among them, they began to grow mutinous and talk very scurrilously against him; upon this *Nonius*, one of the Tribunes, ventured to remonstrate to them their impatience and the indecency of their carriage, but his speeches were freight

laught at, and from jeers they soon came to injuries and blows. The Tribune was forced to fly for it, and seeing no other means to escape, he threw himself into the *Tiber* and was there drowned. The Mutineers drew out his Body and exposed it in the way by which *Cæsar* was to pass to the Field of *Mars*, to instruct him what he was to trust to by this fatal example : His Friends gave him notice of this disorder, and counselled him to avoid it ; he would not however follow their advice, telling them *his absence would encourage and carry them on to greater insolencies*. He therefore went to them, and seeing the Body of *Nonius* laid out, he only turned a little on one side. Being come into the midst of the assembly, he seemed to believe that this piece of Cruelty proceeded onely from some of *Nonius's* particular Enemies, exhorting the Souldiers not to carry on their hatred and revenge so far another time ; then without mentioning it any more, he passed to the distributing the Lands and the marks of honour that were due to those that had signalized themselves in any action. Some that had not deserved any presented themselves, he though he knew them well enough did not refuse them, but accepted them without the least sign of displeasure. The Souldiers by these testimonies of prudence and bounty in their General were touched with so much shame and repentance that they required the authours of *Nonius's* murder might be punished ;

nished; he answered that *they would be punished enough by the reproaches of their Conscience, and by the remorse that would follow so ill an action.* This Answer of his quite gained their hearts, so that all their fury was turned into praises and acclamations of joy. In this place we must not forget two important reflexions of *Appian* upon the causes of the insolence of the Souldiery, because they sufficiently mark the wisdom and penetration of that Historian. He says, that  
“ as in those times the Prætors and other  
“ Officers that commanded the Troops  
“ were not created by the suffrages of the  
“ People according as the Laws required,  
“ so their authority had no longer that  
“ awfull respect which the Laws usually  
“ stamped upon it; and that besides, the  
“ Souldiers were not present at assemblies  
“ to offer their service to their Countrey,  
“ but to him that promised them most for  
“ their assistance, not against Enemies and  
“ Strangers but their own Fellow-Citizens;  
“ so that they did not look upon them-  
“ selves as Souldiers bound to the Repub-  
“ lick by Oaths and Laws, but as Friends  
“ who out of a mutual affection assisted  
“ their Friends upon occasion, seeing e-  
“ ven their Generals who employed them  
“ for their own particular interest, con-  
“ sidered them onely as such. The other  
reflexion is, “ that Deserters being hereto-  
“ fore by the *Roman* Laws punished with  
“ death without any hope of pardon, they

“ now instead of that were well paid and  
“ rewarded with honours for their deser-  
“ ting; and seeing on all sides the same  
“ Ensigns, the same Language, and the  
“ same Discipline, and every one of the  
“ Generals pretending to be authoris'd by  
“ the Laws, and to fight in behalf of the  
“ Commonwealth, they did not imagine  
“ they betrayed their Party what side for-  
“ ever they took, and under this pretext  
“ passed from one Camp to another without  
“ any scruple at all; that this ill princip-  
“ and disorder was the cause why whole Ar-  
“ mies sometimes forsook their Commander  
“ in chief, this baseness being countenanced  
“ by the example of most remarkable Men  
“ of either party; so that it was no longer  
“ the Laws that kept Men in the service, but  
“ the hopes of interest and profit, which fal-  
“ ling short of their expectation, was the  
“ cause that carried them on to such inso-  
“ lencies, and was the original of so ma-  
“ ny Mutinies and Seditions.

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## C H A P. V.

*Misunderstandings between Cæsar, Fulvia and Lucius; They come to open War. The Negligence of Pompey.*

R O M E was not at all exempted from those ills that afflicted the rest of Italy. Provisions were extreme dear by reason Pompey stopped all the passages by Sea from abroad, and at home the Troops consumed all the increase of the Land. Besides this, they dayly committed a thousand insolences in the City, so that all Trading ceased, and the Artizans durst no longer open their Shops. Lucius seemed to be very much grieved at these disorders and detested the Triumvirate as the source of all these miseries. Cæsar on his part used all the means he could to assist, or at least to pacifie the poor Countrey People that were driven from their Possessions. He heard their complaints and promised to doe them justice, which incensed the Souldiers that were Anthony's, being yet more stirred up to it by the artifices of Fulvia. Cæsar openly complained of this Woman, declaring that she wholly acted against the interest and true sentiments of her Husband; but she hearkened to no Body but Manius, who persuaded her that nothing but a War could force Anthony from Cleopatra's Arms, and bring him into Italy. As for Lucius, he had no

other sentiments but what were influenced by these two. *Cesar* having left *Rome*, *Lucius* would have gone with him and carried *Anthony's* Children; but understanding *Cesar* had sent some Horse into *Abruzzo* to hinder the landing of *Pompey's* Troops, he made as if they were sent against him, and so retired himself unto the Lands of *Anthony*, where he assembled the Souldiers; publishing that *Cesar* hated his Brother and designed to ruine him. He on the contrary declared, that he was bound to *Anthony* both by the obligations of interest and friendship, and that *Lucius* onely practised this means to dissolve the authority of the *Triumvirate*, which was the onely engagement for the Souldiers recompences. Their Officers then assembled and agreed upon certain Articles which were never executed, onely *Salvidienus*, Lieutenant of *Cesar*, passed the *Alps* for *Spain* without any hindrance from *Asinius Pollio*, who commanded for *Anthony* in *Gallia Narbonensis*. In the mean time *Fulvia* and *Lucius* were retired to *Preneſte*, for fear (said they) of *Cesar* and his ambition, which they made out by the example of *Lepidus*, who had not the least authority in *Rome*. The Officers of the Veterans went to *Rome*, where they inspected the Treaty and Articles that were made between *Anthony* and *Cesar*, and after they had perused them they engaged themselves by oath to judge impartially the differences of their Generals, according

according to reason and equity, and to that end sent Deputies to *Lucius*. He then was moved by their remonstrances, but *Marinus* represented the face of things otherwise, that whilst *Anthony* was labouring to get Money for the Souldiers, *Cesar* dealt under-hand with them for his own private interest. That he had set *Gaul* at liberty, which was part of *Anthony's* Government, that he had overrun all *Italy* with his Souldiers, although there were but eighteen Towns destined for them; that instead of twenty eight Legions who were to be rewarded, there were thirty four that appeared with their pretensions; that he had sacked and ravaged even the very Temples of the Gods to give them the riches of them, and all under pretence of marching against *Pompey*, which as affairs stood now was impossible, for want of Provision and Ammunition; but that his real purpose was by this profusion to engage them to his side against *Anthony*. It was to this intent too that he sold every thing that belonged to the Triumvirs in common so cheap, that indeed he rather gave than sold; and therefore if he was desirous of Peace, he ought to give an account of what had passed through his hands, and for the future to act jointly with them, since they had regard onely to the publick good. These accusations and complaints of theirs were absolutely against one article of the Edict of the Triumvirate, which in expresse terms mentioned, that

what one of the Triumvirs ordained should be confirmed by the other two. *Cesar* was too wise to let this pass without insisting upon it, taking his measures accordingly for the War, which he plainly foresaw. As all the actions of great Men are exposed to the reasonings and censures of the Politicians, several of them have imagined that this War was only an effect of his cunning, that he might force his secret Enemies to declare themselves, and so by the confiscation of their Estates, make a fond for the payment of his Souldiers. Part of *Anthony's* two Legions who were at *Ancona*, troubled at these Divisions, deputed to him some of their Officers to propose an agreement between them, and put an end to these Factions. *Cesar* gave them a gracious hearing, and assured them that he both honoured and loved *Anthony*, and that he would never part interests nor alliance, but that *Lucius* had not the same sentiments for him. These Deputies then manifested to *Lucius* this Declaration of *Cesar's*, and plainly told him, that if he were not contented to acquiesce in the judgment of those equitable and uninterested Persons who should be chosen by the two Armies, they then knew well which side they ought to take. *Lucius* was very sensible of these last expressions, and agreed to a Conference with *Cesar*, and to this end made choice of the Town of *Gabii*, between *Rome* and *Preneste*. There then were placed two Tribunals for the

the Generals, who were in Person to lay down their Reasons, and seats for the Judges. *Cesar* came thither first, and sent out a Party of Horse on that side that *Lucius* was to come, who also had done the same; these two Detachments met and charged each other, so that on *Lucius's* side some Cavaliers were killed, who upon this was so frightened that he could never after be persuaded to go any farther. Perhaps *Cesar* knowing his weakness had given such an express command to engage, that so he might break off the Conference. Whatever the matter was, *Lucius* came not, whereupon the Judges gave it against him, and engaged themselves to serve *Cesar* against him. This first act of hostility was taken as a Declaration of War, which began by very sharp Letters *Cesar* and *Lucius* sent each other. *Lucius* had under his command six Legions during his Consulship, and eleven others of *Anthony's*, commanded by *Calepnus*. *Cesar* had four at *Capua*, with some others about his Person, and six that *Salvidienus* brought him; so that their Forces were near upon equal. *Lucius* drew Money from those Nations to whom *Anthony* had granted freedom, and *Cesar* from the Provinces that fell to his share, excepting *Sardignia*, besides what he took by way of Loan out of the Temples where the publick Treasuries were kept, as at *Rome* in the Capitol, and in the Towns of *Aneona*, *Arvinium*, \* *Nismes* and *Tibur*. The o-  
ther *Nemausus*.



ther Provinces were not able to give him any assistance; for *Pompey*, assisted by all the banished Persons who hated the Triumvirate, had laid them waste, and if he had rightly understood his interest and known how to manage to his own advantage the affection the People had for his Father's memory, he by these Divisions might very easily have made himself Master of all *Italy*; for *Marcus* was come up to him with two Legions, twenty four Ships and abundance of Treasure; he had besides receiv'd a considerable re-inforcement from *Cephallonia*, and his Forces did dayly encrease by addition of Fugitives that fled to him for refuge; but withall he had this misfortune, that he had never a faithfull Friend to animate and push on his irresolute and changeable Temper by vigorous daring Counsels. He was contented to be upon the defensive onely, and calmly see his Enemies dispute an Empire to which he had onely pretensions sufficient to make both Parties when united fall upon him with their joint Forces.

## C H A P. VI.

*Fagius, Lieutenant of Cæsar, is overthrown in Africa by Sextius, Anthony's Lieutenant. Cæsar and Lucius make preparations of War against each other.*

**S***extius*, General of the Horse to *Anthony*, governed in *Africa*, and in performance of the Triumvirate agreement had very frankly given up his Forces and Province to *Fagius*, Lieutenant General to *Cæsar*. As soon as he understood by Letters from *Lucius*, that *Fulvia* and all *Anthony's* Friends were fallen out with *Cæsar*, and that this difference was likely to end in an open War, he believed that *Fagius* would deliver him his Troops again with the same justice and gallantry that he had received them, but he found he had to deal with a brutal Man that had neither. Upon his refusal he prepared to fight him, and by the reputation he had among them drew to his party several Africans which joined to the Romans that had still remained with him, made up a considerable Force, and with it marched against *Fagius*; he waited for him, and they came to a fierce engagement, in which *Fagius* seeing the two Wings of his Army beaten, and that his Men forsook him, he killed himself with his own hand; so victorious *Sextius* retook the Government of the two *Lybias*. *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*,

ritania, *Lucius's* Friend, encouraged by this success, drove *Carina*, one of *Cesar's* Party, out of *Africk*. On the other side *Domitius* with eighty Ships, manned with two Legions, and a great number of Slingers, Archers and armed Gladiators, cruised in the Ionian Seas, and pillaged all the Coasts that obeyed the Triumvirs. He came up even to *Brundisium*, and there took several of *Cesar's* Ships, who therefore was forced to send a Legion thither, and sent for *Salvidienus* to him; in the mean time he drew together all the old Troops dispersed throughout *Italy*, and demanded assistance of those Princes that were of his Party. *Lucius* on his side used the same diligence; and besides, he found he had the Peoples favour, who considered him as the Protector of their Liberty. Therefore for this reason *Cesar* assembled the Senators and Roman Knights; he told them that his Enemies despised him, because they thought that it was out of fear that he delayed to attack them, but that now he intended to let them know the true reasons of this his conduct. As for his Army, that daily was increased and strengthened with old tried Soldiers, who breathed nothing but War, but that he had an extreme regret to come to that extremity, as unwilling to act over again the horrors of a Civil War, of which not *Thrace* or *Macedon* was to be the Seat, but *Italy*, which must alone endure all the calamities that would follow this Division: That he could not blame  
 Anthony,

Anthony, who in like manner had no reason to complain of him; thus with all earnestness and passion he desired to live in amity with Lucius, and that he desired them to use their endeavours to entice him to reason, but that if by this he could not be influenced, he would soon make him know that his Patience was the effect of his Goodness and Vertue, not of his Fear; that in the mean time, he conjured them they would bear witness to Anthony of his sincerity, and assist him against Lucius, who so unjustly attacked him. Upon this the Senate and People deputed some of their Body to Lucius, who answered them that Caesar had not done fairly, but concealed several things from them. Manius shewed them some Letters of Caesar's, (which were supposed to be fictitious) in which he requested them to assist him to maintain his dignity and authority by violence and force of Arms; thereupon the Deputies demanding who they thought those were that would oppose him, received nothing but vain equivocating Answers, upon which they retired. Then both Parties betook themselves to their Arms. Caesar went out of Rome, and left Lepidus to command there; he sent home Clodia, the Daughter of Fulvia by her former Husband, whom he had betrothed when he first made alliance with Anthony. Fulvia outraged at this affront, to manifest her greater resentment of it, went to the Camp, where she appeared at the head of the Troops with a Helmet

met on her Head, and a Sword by her Side. And at the same time two Legions of *Anthonys*, who were in Garrison in *Alba*, mutined; which obliged *Cæsar* and *Lucius* to march thitherwards to reap some advantage from that disorder. *Lucius* got thither first, and quelled the Sedition. *Cæsar* in his march meeting with *Furnius*, *Lucius's* Lieutenant, who was carrying him a great reinforcement charged him as he retreated to a Mountain; the Night hindred his defeat, and gave *Furnius* an opportunity to get into the Town of *Sentia*, where he was immediately besieged by *Cæsar*. *Lucius* seeing him engaged in this Siege, took the occasion to return to *Rome*, and sent thither his Cavalry, which was there received by *Nonius*, and a little after he arrived there himself with the rest of his Legions. *Lepidus* durst not stay his coming, since he had openly declared himself against the Triumvirate, but fled and saved himself in *Cæsar's* Camp. And in effect, *Lucius* before the People declaimed against the Triumvirate, which he plainly called Tyranny: He told them that *Cæsar* and *Lepidus* should soon be punished for their violences, and that his Brother would renounce this unjust power to take the more lawfull one of Consul. This Discourse pleased the Romans, so that they saluted him with the Title of Emperour. *Cæsar* having notice of this inconstancy of the People, left his Lieutenant to carry on the Siege, and  
marched



marched to *Rome*, where *Lucius* durst not expect him. In this while *Caesar's* Lieutenant took the Town of *Sentia*, which *Furnius* quitted to follow *Caesar*. *Lucius* when he was got out of *Rome*, increased his Army with *Anthony's* Souldiers, who daily joined him: But as a great misfortune to his designs, *Barbatus*, *Anthony's* \* *Questor*, *Treasurer*. arrived in *Italy*, having left his General by reason of some distast. Several Persons demanded of him what were *Anthony's* sentiments of these transactions in *Italy* when he was informed of them by *Fulvia's* Letters. The *Questor* told them that *Anthony* did not at all approve of the measures they took to quarrel with *Caesar* for what he did to maintain the authority of the Triumvirate. This report immediately spread it self, and quite changed the affections of many, so that believing they should not disoblige *Anthony* by making their Court to *Caesar*, without any hesitation adhered to *Caesar's* Party, where they were convinced all the authority of the Triumvirate was united.

## C H A P. VII.

*The Forces of the two Parties. The Characters of the principal Officers, as Agrippa, Salvidienus, Ventidius and Pollio. Lucius is besieged in Perusia.*

THE Forces of each side consisted in three distinct Bodies, which besides the two Heads of the Parties, were commanded by very able Generals, and who afterwards performed very extraordinary actions. These were *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* on *Caesar's* side, and *Pollio* and *Ventidius* on that of *Lucius*. But *Pollio* had this advantage over the other three, that he was a Man of Letters and an excellent Orator; yet though he had a great passion for Learning and Arts, he was no less a good Soldier and skilled in the art of War. He professed himself besides an exact Man of honour and a steadfast Friend: It was this last Vertue that made him a Partizan of *Anthony's*, being bound to him by all the bands of Friendship which they had contracted when they served together under *Julius Caesar*. Both he and the others were but meanly born, and particularly *Ventidius* was reproached for being a Slave; for in the War of the Allies his Mother was led in Triumph by *Strabo*, *Pompey's* Father, carrying her little Son in her Arms; afterwards mere necessity reduced him to hire out

out Mules to the Magistrates that were employed in the Provinces, this gave him an opportunity of doing a service for *Julius Caesar*, which gained him the favour of that great Man. He then received him under his Command, where *Ventidius* by his valour making himself remarkable, he came afterwards to be Tribune of the People and then Pretor. In this dignity he by his interest with the Souldiery, was a great help to *Anthony's* affairs, whom he assisted very powerfully. *Anthony* out of gratitude used all his interest and authority to get him the charge of Chief-Priest and Consul; whereupon the People were very much choqued at his preferment, and published Lebel's against him. Some of the Verses were to this purpose: *Assemble your selves and consult, O ye Augurs and Southsayers, upon this extraordinary Prodigy, he that curried the Mules is become Consul.* But for all this, this very Man, so despised by the Romans, was the onely Man that ever revenged that signal shame and affront given them by the Parthians in the overthrow of *Crassus*. He defeated them in three Battels, killed their King's Son, and was the onely General of all the Romans that ever had the honour and happiness of triumphing over that Nation. And indeed the Romans, though late, were sensible of the justice they owed to his valour, in ordaining magnificent Funeral Rites for him at the charge of the publick. *Agrippa* had no less merit, and

his vertue was less envied ; he particularly signalized himself whereever he had any command , but above all in the defeat of *Pompey*, and the Victory over *Anthony* at *Actium*. He had besides ever the chiefeft place in *Augustus* his favour, and had the honour to be his Son-in-law, and to leave Emperours of his posterity. He justly passed for the greatest Captain of his time , and never did Man shew more obedience to his Prince, nor more ambition to command others. He was a great enemy to all delays, and had no sooner formed any enterprise but he immediately put it in execution ; withall he was generous, sincere, and above all affected a frank liberty of speaking his mind, so that he even spared not taxing his Prince of some actions that were displeasing to him, as favoured too much of cruelty. *Salvidienus* his character was very different from this ; he was no better born than the others, or to say better, much worse ; for he was but a poor Peasant, forced for want to look after Cattel : whilst he was such, there happened to him something that appeared a prodigy, his Head seemed as if all in a flame ; this moved him to list himself in the Army, where by his valour he rose to the most considerable commands, but then he was carried on by an unmeasurable ambition to undertake any thing to satisfy his unreasonable desires ; he was of a depraved mind, and of an ill turned mischievous temper, those wicked inclinations

ons made him most ungratefully conspire against *Cesar*, who had made him Consul against the received rule, without being a Senatour; but *Salvidienus* was punished for this Treason as he deserved, and so his Death was as infamous as his Birth. He had now repassed the *Alps*, and was marching to join *Cesar* in spight of *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, who were at the heels of him with their Armies. As this joining was a matter of very great importance, *Lucius* chiefly strove to hinder it; and *Salvidienus* had been utterly lost if *Agrippa* had not advanced between *Lucius* and him, and attacked the Town of *Sutrium*, which he carried by storm. This Town had shewed it self very affectionate to *Lucius*, and the danger it was in moved him to turn head and relieve it; which gave *Salvidienus* opportunity to join *Agrippa*, and so they made themselves Masters of the Passes and Defiles, through which the Armies of *Ventidius* and *Pollio* were to march; and *Lucius* not being strong enough to oppose them retreated into *Perusia*, and there expected his Generals. *Cesar* having news of this strait, made thither and rallied *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* to besiege *Lucius* in that place. It is seated in that Countrey which was formerly called *Heiruria*, and now belongs to the Ecclesiastical Dominion; it was strongly situated, as being built upon a Hill, which made *Lucius* hope *Cesar* would ruine his Army by this Siege: he then dis-



patched *Manius* to *Pollio* and *Ventidius* to oblige them to come to his relief; and at the same time sent out *Trissinius* with 4000 Horse to ravage those Towns that were for *Cesar*. *Pollio* and *Ventidius* were none of the best Friends, for each of them would have commanded in chief, neither being willing to submit to his equal. Besides too, they were not certain what sentiments *Anthony* would have upon this occasion of this War, by reason *Lucius* had openly declared himself an enemy of the Triumvirate. As for *Fulvia*, she was always governed by her own passion; she had raised Forces under the command of *Plancus*, and by her Letters never ceased pressing *Pollio*, *Ventidius*, *Arcius* and *Calenus* to succour their General's Brother. But there hapned a disgrace to her, that mortified her extremely, for as she was going to *Rome* to manage some new Broil, she met with a Legion of *Cesar's*, who charged her Convoy that guarded her, defeated it and took all her equipage. At length *Pollio* and *Ventidius* took a resolution to advance towards *Perusia* in two distinct Bodies. *Cesar* having intelligence of their motion, with *Agrippa* marched against them, hindred their joining with *Plancus*; and forced *Ventidius* into *Ariminum*, (now *Rimini*) and *Pollio* into *Ravenna*, or according to *Velleius*, into that Isle where *Venice* now is, and *Plancus* into *Pollentia*, and leaving sufficient Forces to maintain the several Blockades he returned to his Siege.

CHAP.

## C H A P. VIII.

*The Siege of Perugia. Cæsar in danger. The extreme misery of the besieged.*

AS Cæsar could not pretend to force so great an Army in a place of that importance, so neither would he make a formal Siege of it, but resolved to reduce it by Famine; to this end he drew about it a Line of contravallation of fifty six stadia in compass, and withall, carried two Trenches to the River *Tibur* to hinder any attempt or relief of the Enemies on that side, this Line he strengthened with a Rampart, flanked with Towers at equal distances, and at his return he sunk the Trenches thirty Foot deep, and covered it with a Wall, upon which he placed wooden Towers, 1500 in number, distant one from the other sixty Foot; and these were all fortified with great Beams, and filled with Archers and Slingers and all sorts of offensive Engines. The besieged strove to hinder these Works by frequent and fierce Sallies, and *Lucius* having abundance of Gladiators with him, had always the better of it when they came to handy-blows; but then Cæsar's Men had the advantage of them by their Artillery and missive Weapons, at which they were very expert. It was in one of these actions that Cæsar ran an extreme hazard by a very extra-

ordinary accident. *Lucius* seeing his Provisions daily diminished, resolved to make one great attempt on a famous festival night, believing that the besiegers would be busied in the celebration of it, and by that means be less upon their guard. *Cesar* was then offering Sacrifice very near the Walls of *Perusia*; the Diviners inspecting the entrails of the Victim, found nothing but fatal pre-fages in them, at which *Cesar* was much concerned, while at that instant *Lucius's* Gladiators made a Sally, the Sacrifice was left, the Sacrificers fled, and *Cesar* had certainly been either slain or taken Prisoner, if the Legion that was upon the guard in the nearest Trenches had not speedily advanced to his relief; in the mean while the Gladiators carried away the Victim, Entrails and all the preparation of the Sacrifice: these were reinforced and backed by more Troops, so that they charged to the Trenches where the same Legion made head against them; and *Cesar* rallying some Cohorts of his Guards, charged them in the Flank, and beat them into the Town. Whilst this general distraction was in the Army, for *Cesar's* safety, the Diviners alone came to him very joyfull, and told him that the Gods were propitious to him, and that all the misfortune threatened by the ill-boding Entrails of the Victim, concerned onely the Enemies that had them in their possession. Perhaps *Cesar* himself did not believe it so, however the thing was well imagined, and adroitly

adroility turned to re-assure the dismayed Souldiers, and indeed afterwards the event confirmed this prediction. The City of *Rome* had her share in the calamities of this War, Corn was excessive dear, and the rabble that upon these occasions observe no measures nor duty, understanding that *Cæsar's* Officers had laid up great stores, rose and plundered the Magazines and several of the wealthiest houses in the City. Now *Ventidius*, *Pollio* and *Plancus* believed they were obliged in honour, not to let *Lucius* be any longer besieged, and resolved by agreement to march and force *Cæsar* to a battel or else to raise his siege against them; he detached *Agrippa* and *Salvidienus* with a Body, who could not however hinder their joyning and advancing to *Fulsina* distant from *Perusia* 160 Stadiums. *Lucius* having notice of their approach by the Signals they made him in the night by fire was extremely rejoiced at it, not doubting in the least but they would make some great push for his relief. This was indeed the intention of *Ventidius* and *Pollio*, but *Plancus* who always abounded in reasons and cool counsels, when they were to avoid fighting, remonstrated to them, that *Agrippa* who was as strong as they upon their least motion would charge them in the rere, and having *Cæsar* before them there was no avoiding the defeat of their Troops, for which they alone were responsible to *Anthony*; this Counsel which was not without ground,

added to the dislike they had of *Lucius* his conduct made them think of a retreat, which put the besieged into utter despair, they attempted another Sally though with as little success as the former, for all the fight lasted from nine at night till next morning. Then *Lucius* made a review and an inventory of all the provisions that were in the place, that he might the better distribute by measure amongst the Souldiers, without any consideration of the Slaves, and to hinder them that they should not desert, he set Guards upon them lest they should inform the enemy of the extreme necessity they were in: These poor wretches reduced to this horrible misery, wandered about the works to seek out herbs, grass and roots, and some fed upon the vilest *Ordurci* which onely served to make an end of them the sooner, for almost all of them died and *Lucius* made them be buried in ditches on heaps, not being willing to burn them, as well for that the besiegers should not have any notice of it by the fires, as not to corrupt the Air by the stench of the burning Bodies. At length the Souldiers pressed by the want and famine which daily encreased, begged him to give them leave to make a general Sally, as desiring rather to dye with their Arms in their hands, than to perish by so terrible a death as starving. Yet they hoped to behave themselves so gallantly, as to put an end to all their sufferings by a glorious Victory over their enemies. Immediately



mediately *Lucius* approved of this resolution of theirs, telling them, *that they had nothing else to trust to now, but either to dye or Conquer*; they resolved therefore to sally at break of day to avoid the disorder that might happen in the dark, and provided good store of iron Crows, Mattocks, Spades and other tools to break *Cesar's* wall, and they had Ladders and long Hooks to scale the Walls and pass the Trenches, and so oppose the enemies Towers, which had beams and timbers in them to sling upon the Walls in the nature of Bridges, with such like preparation these brave Souldiers with an amazing resolution fiercely attacked *Cesar's* lines. The ditch was immediately filled up, and the Palisade pulled down, so that they came to the Wall which they undermined on all sides, while others strove by the help of scaling Ladders to get upon it; the rowling Towers advanced, raining a dreadful storm of Darts and Arrows upon the besiegers, who were astonished at this furious assault, for the Souldiers of *Lucius* fought as men reduced to despair, death appearing nothing so terrible to them as famine, and though they fought with all the disadvantage imaginable, and though they were struck through with Darts and Arrows, with which the enemies flanked them from the Ramparts; they still vigorously employed both Crows and Beams to make a breach in the Wall, openly exposing themselves to the enemies shot, by which

though great numbers fell, yet the rest were not in the least dismayed. By this time the nimblest that had mounted the Wall came to handy strokes with the foe, and the battle grew warmer, no body could retreat without falling headlong down, and the besieged fought with that unexpressible fury, that when they wanted arms like wild Beasts they used their hands and teeth, and doubtless this obstinate bravery had gained them an absolute Victory had the forces been any-ways equal; but *Cæsar* having more men than *Lucius*, he from time to time reinforced them with fresh reserves, which at last beat the tired besieged with their Engines from off the Wall; these gallant men though stunned at their fall still clung to the Wall with their hands, and either strove to pull out the stones, or else by their words encouraged their fellows who still fought. *Lucius* moved at so extraordinary a valour and fidelity, and knowing he had very great reason to preserve them, whose courage now onely served to destroy them, commanded a Retreat to be sounded: *Cæsar's* men immediately gave loud shouts of Joy, and according to the *Romans* custome when they gained a Victory struck their Swords against their Bucklers, the others raging at this with all haste and fury got together those Ladders that remained and returned to the attack, resolved either to carry the Rampart or be buried in the Ditch, if *Lucius* had not withheld them,  
and

and by his Prayers and even moving them with his tears made them retreat. At last they obeyed him, though with that regret as cannot be expressed. *Cæsar*, at night doubled his Guards and Watches fearing another attack, and gave his orders for the speedy marching of relief in case of necessity. As for the besieged their weariness and vexation scarce gave them leisure to think of placing advanced Guards, so that it gave opportunity to many Souldiers, and several considerable Officers to go over to *Cæsar*.

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## C H A P. IX.

*Lucius resolves to treat with Cæsar. He Harangues his Souldiers, and sends Deputies to Cæsar.*

**L***ucius* finding himself reduced to the utmost extremity, and finding no probability of relief, concluded at last to give way to this cruel necessity, and think of capitulating: He therefore communicated his intentions to his chief Officers, and though among them some particular enemies of *Cæsar* opposed it, yet he persisted in his resolution; but fearing that the Souldiers might deliver him up to *Cæsar*, he drew them together and told them, "That in all this War he had no other design, but by a  
"bolishing

“ bolishing the Tyranny of the Triumvi-  
“ rate to set his Countrey at liberty, which  
“ he undertook with more Justice, by rea-  
“ son all pretences to this pernicious  
“ League were ceased by the defeat of  
“ *Brunus* and *Cassius*; that *Lepidus* had in a  
“ manner quitted his part of the Empire,  
“ and *Anthony* in *Asia* minded nothing but  
“ his delights and heaping up money, but  
“ that *Cesar* alone bouyed up the remains  
“ of that unjust power, which had moved  
“ him to lay hold on the Troubles occa-  
“ sioned by the distribution of Lands, to  
“ restore that rightfull Authority to the  
“ Commonwealth which had been so u-  
“ surped from it, and that he had the greater  
“ obligation upon him to doe it, by rea-  
“ son he was Consul. But that *Cesar* to  
“ overthrow so just a design, had loaded  
“ him with the ill Will and hatred of all  
“ the Souldiery, maliciously taxing him of  
“ endeavouring to oppose and hinder them  
“ of the rewards they had deserved, in fa-  
“ vour of the Peasants; that at first he  
“ knew nothing of these reports, and that  
“ when he did he despised them, that he  
“ had besides deputed Commissioners to di-  
“ vide the Lands, and so he might have  
“ hindred the Veteran Souldiers joyning  
“ *Cesar*, and fighting against their own  
“ Interests, as they would plainly see by the  
“ event: knowing therefore we were rui-  
“ ned by Famine, not by the Valour of  
“ our foes, and since our Officers abandon  
“ us;

“ us; I could have made use of several  
“ expedients for my own security, besides  
“ the satisfaction I felt for doing my du-  
“ ty and behaving my self like a man of  
“ honour: But however, this is none of  
“ my intention, I consult your safety be-  
“ fore my own Glory, and am now send-  
“ ing to the Conquerour to offer him my  
“ Life and Person, provided, in making  
“ me the object of all his hatred and re-  
“ venge, he spares you, ye that are Ro-  
“ man Citizens, ye that have formerly  
“ served under him, and who in maintain-  
“ ing a just and noble Cause, are not van-  
“ quished by the force of his Arms, but by  
“ extreme Famine. After this discourse,  
he chose out three of his chief Com-  
manders to go to *Cesar*, which the Soul-  
diers saw with a great deal of regret, and  
withall were full of Praises of the Vertue  
and Goodness of their General. These  
Deputies represented to *Cesar*, that as the  
Souldiers and Officers on both sides had one  
and the same Countrey, that they were all  
of them allied to one another, either by  
kindred or friendship; having served toge-  
ther under his Father and under him, the  
besieged hoped he would not treat them as  
objects of his revenge, since it was not any  
aversion against him, that made them take  
up Arms, but out of a motive of pure af-  
fection to their Countrey; taking example  
of those noble *Romans* that were their An-  
cestours. To this they added many other rea-  
sons,



sons, to moderate *Cæsar's* resentments. *Cæsar* who was well informed of the several Interests and Inclinations of his Enemies, and knowing that there were several among them that had never born Arms but against him, and others that entred into this party onely to have their share of the Lands, answered very discreetly, *That he pardoned those who had served under Anthony, but as to the others they should yield upon Discretion:* this he said in publick, but he privately told *Furnius* one of the Deputies, *That he intended not the least injury to Lucius and his Souldiers for what was past, but onely to some Enemies of his, who out of Malice to him had been the occasion of all these disorders:* When the Deputies returned to *Perusia*, all those that judged *Cæsar's* hate by what they bore him, were extremely enraged with *Furnius*, for his private conference with *Cæsar*. They represented to *Lucius*, that they were intended as Victims to *Cæsar's* cruelty, because he knew their affection to their Countrey, and that they should capitulate for their safety, or else resolve all to dye with their Arms in their hands. *Lucius* moved with Compassion for so many People, saw there was a necessity of sending other Deputies, but he knew none more proper than himself, and therefore immediately went without taking any hostage or caution for his security. *Cæsar* advertised of this went to receive him, and to shew his earnest desire he had  
to

to put an end to this War, was the first that came out of his Camp: As soon as ever *Lucius* espied him, he commanded those that were with him to make a halt, and he alone advanced to the brink of the Ditch. They were both of them clad in their Ornaments of War, and adorned with all the marks of their Dignity; after the first complements and actions of Civility; *Lucius* spoke after this manner.

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## C H A P. X.

*Lucius Speech to Cæsar, his Answer.*

**I**F I had not the honour to be a Roman I should now appear full of Confusion, for being Conquered and yielding upon discretion, having that in my hands that would keep me from that shame; but after I had fought against a Roman for the common good of our Country, I do not in the least think my self dishonoured by being vanquished by a General that is a Roman. I do not speak this to avoid whatever you decree against my Person, for you see I am come alone into the midst of the Troops to surrender my self to your disposal, without any conditions for my self, or demanding any security, or making any other request than for the pardon of those that have served me in this War; even the reasonableness of the thing may be a motive to it, and your own  
interest

interest requires it : and therefore to convince you thoroughly of this, I will first speak as to my self, and after of those that followed me. I do not pretend to conceal from you, that I alone am the Author of all that has been acted against you, and therefore think it just that all the resentments should light on me, and if I seem to make some excuses, 'tis not that I vainly hope for any assistance from my Brother or his Friends, for that is now too late, but that it is necessary you should know the truth which I will not now disguise or palliate. When I undertook this War, my design was not to usurp your Authority, but to re-establish that of the Common-wealth oppressed by the power of the Triumvirate, and you your self must needs yield this truth, since by the very Edict of the Triumvirate, you owned your Authority was not lawfull; but that you had this Pretext, that you were forced to take up Arms against Brutus and Cassius. Now they are destroyed and none of their party are in a condition to oppose you, what pretence have you to be in Arms, unless it be to make your selves feared and obeyed? I saw the five years of your League expired, and hoped to restore the Consular dignity, and the rightfull and lawfull power of the other Magistrates. I own that in persuance of this, I had less consideration for my Brother than the Republick, my intent being to force him if need were at his arrival to concur with me in this design, and as I passionately desired this Glorious action should be done in my Consulship, and you might have  
had

had the honour of it in renouncing your Authority, but seeing all your motions tended otherwise, I came to Rome to force you to it, knowing my self a Roman, and considerable both by birth and for the Office I bore: these therefore are the true reasons that carried me to take up Arms, and not the Counsels of a Manius and Fulvia, much less the division of the Lands you allotted the Souldiers that fought at Philippi, nor was it any Compassion for those that were driven from their Houses and Inheritances; quite contrary, I had named Commissioners for the distribution, who had order to strain a point in favour of the Souldiers against the Peasants, this however is the pretence you have used to animate the Veteran Souldiers against me, by making them believe I opposed it: it was this that moved them against me, and that has taken away all the Confidence that I had in them, and all the Will they had to serve me, by which I confess you have your own interest in the intention you had of making War with me, and I have mine in declaring War to compass my intent. And since I have put my self into your hands, I do not in the least fear to tell you plainly the true Sense I had and still have of your Conduct, whatever you please to decree against me: It is this as I have already told you, that moved me to come to you my self, and as to what concerns my Kindred, my Friends and my Troops, if you will but take it in good part, I will now give you advice that shall turn both to your Glory and advantage; and

this is not to shew any resentment for what has passed in this difference, but to consider the unconstancy of fortune that depends on the chance of War, not to fright the Souldiers by punishing them, but by Gentleness draw them to serve you upon occasion, as they have already against the Conspiratours, and shew them by your usage of them, that their greatest security will be to follow the Conquerour. But if this Counsel is suspected as given by an Enemy, I conjure you not to impute as a fault the fidelity they have shewed me, nor the misfortune that has followed it, but to turn all your Vengeance against me, as the onely cause of these ills: it was this that obliged me to speak to you in private, to take away all the suspicion they might have had, that in seeming to affect speaking for their interest and safety I might onely consult my own. This discourse that shewed a resolution and greatness of Soul, worthy of an ancient Roman was not very pleasing to Caesar, but he took care not to testifie all his resentment against him, that was the brother of Anthony, whom for several reasons he was obliged to have a consideration for. As he had a great presence of mind and a ready Wit, he thus answered him: As soon as I understood you came to me, I advanced out of my Camp to meet you, to give you full liberty of explaining your Thoughts; the Submission you have shewn in yielding your self to me as those ought to doe, that are touched with remorse, keeps me from remarking the Crimes you unjustly charge



charge me with, and the disguising so many known truths, though this discourse of yours injures me more than your former Actions; but since you frankly give me up both your self, your Friends and your Troops, this generous proceeding hinders me from acting what I ought, both as Conquerour and injured. You have by this quite disarmed my Choler and my Power: I therefore return you yours in letting you enjoy the conditions of our former agreement, though the Law of Arms might oblige you to obey without resistance, the Will of the Vanquisher. I will however doe what is worthy of me, and for the respect I owe the Gods, my Dignity and your own Person, which so nobly you abandon to me, I will not at all betray the trust you have placed in my Goodness and Clemency. As these discourses are not Fictitious or merely Ornamental, and that Appian who reports them, assures he took them out of very faithfull Memoirs which remained concerning this War, it is hoped the length of them will not be displeasing, what intention soever there were of not being engaged in the recital of Speeches.

## C H A P. XI.

*Lucius and Cæsar part. Lucius delivers up the Town. Cæsar speaks to the besieged Souldiers with indignation, he punishes the Senatours of Perusia, the Town is pillaged and by accident burnt. Tiberius continues the War in the Kingdom of Naples, from whence he is driven by Cæsar.*

THE two Generals parted well enough satisfied with each other in appearance. *Cæsar* could not forbear praising *Lucius* his great courage, which all his misfortunes had not been able to abate. *Lucius* above all things esteemed *Cæsar's* great moderation, and his manner of expressing things of such moment in so few words; he commanded all his Officers to go and receive their Orders from *Cæsar*, and carry him their muster Rolls, as was usual with the *Romans*, who when they took Orders from the General always shewed the muster Rolls of the Legions. *Cæsar* in giving it out commanded them on their side to keep a Guard, and he did the like on his. The next morning by break of day he offered Sacrifice, and *Lucius* marched out his Troops in good order, who saluted *Cæsar* as far as they could discern him: He commanded them to halt upon the ground he shewed them, the old Legions who demanded their share of the Inheritances on one side, and the

the new raised ones on the other. The Sacrifice ended, *Caesar* crowned with Laurel mounted on a Tribunal, and commanded all the vanquished Souldiers to lay down their Arms; he then reproached the ingratitude of the old Legions with terrible threats, and though they had notice before he would doe so, it filled them all with fear. *Caesar's* Souldiers, whether by permission of their General, or moved with Pity at their dejected Companions, advanced to them, and embracing them with tears begged mercy for them. *Caesar* as very much moved, fiercely told them, *they always opposed his Intentions, and though in truth he knew them to be very brave, yet he would fain know of them what injury they had received from him, or what advantage they hoped for from his Enemies, that should make them bear Arms against his Person, his Souldiers, and indeed against themselves, since he only laboured for their interest; but that he would not insist upon this any farther, and therefore in consideration of his Souldiers he pardoned them, and for the future would not look upon them as Enemies, but Souldiers that would follow none but himself.* This Speech was followed by general shouts of Praises and Acclamations; he then ordered his Officers to receive those of *Lucius* into their Tents, and his Souldiers to encamp where they were, till he had resolved upon what part to send them to, and what Officers should command them. After-

wards without coming down from his Tribunal, he sent to *Lucius* to come out of *Perusia*: This Consul then appeared a little after accompanied by his Lieutenants, and all the Senatours that were of his party, who were very much cast down at this revolution.. *Cesar's* Troops entred *Perusia*, and seized upon all the Posts and places of Arms: he caused *Lucius* to seat himself by him, and his chief Officers received all the Senatours with orders to use them well, but withall to look well after them. In the mean time the Inhabitants of the Town were upon the Walls, from whence with lamentable Cries they sued for pardon. *Cesar* ordered they should all come forth, except those that composed the Council of the City, and it was against these that he employed all his vengeance and severity; it is said, that when they were brought before him laden with Chains and begging for mercy, he replied onely these terrible words, *Ye must die*, and then made three hundred of them be slain as Victims near an Altar, erected in honour of his Father upon the Ides of *March* the same day he was murthered; one onely named *Lucius Emilius* was spared, because being at *Rome* after the murther of *Julius Cesar*, he counselled the Conspiratours should be put to death. The Town was going to be pillaged, when one of the noblest Inhabitants called *Macedonicus*, put fire to his own house and stabbed himself; this fire carried on by a high

high wind spread it self from house to house, and in less than an hour laid all *Perusia* in ashes, except the Temple of *Vulcan*. *Appian* reports, that this *Macedonicus* was one of *Lucius* his Souldiers named *Cestius*, who had this Sirname given him, because he had served a long time in *Macedon*: Thus ended this fatal War which threatned *Italy* with utter desolation. For although *Pollio*, *Ventidius*, *Plancus*, and other Commanders of *Anthony* had still thirteen Legions and fifteen hundred Horse, whether it were that there was no good understanding among them, or that they did not approve of *Lucius* his Conduct, they all withdrew and retired themselves; some to *Brundisium*, as *Plancus*, who left the two Legions he commanded to *Agrippa*, others to *Tarentum*, and some to *Ravenna*. *Pollio* alone made an honourable Retreat, and went and joyned himself to *Domitius*. *Fulvia* desperate with these misfortunes saved her self at *Brundisium*, and from thence passed over into *Macedon*. *Tiberius* maintained the remainders of the party a long time after near *Naples*. He was a man illustrious for his Family, but much more considerable for his Valour and Wit; he had been *Pretor*, and was then High Priest, yet his name had remained in Oblivion had it not been for his marriage with *Livia*: She was of a noble Family, a branch of the *Claudian* entred by Adoption into the *Livian*. She was Mistress of abundance of Vertue and Beauty, but of



much more agreeableness and address. The Friendship of *Tiberius* with *Lucius* had engaged him to his party, and his defeat had not discouraged him, he endeavoured all he could to repair this misfortune, even to set Slaves free and make them Souldiers : *Cæsar* to quench this fire in the beginning marched towards *Naples* with diligence, and attacked *Tiberius* so briskly, that all he could doe was to save himself in *Sicily*. One may here with *Velleius* reflect upon the strange turns of Fortune, which may learn us, that as to what regards the future, fears are often as false as hopes. *Livia* flying the fury of *Cæsar* waited on onely by one servant, and carrying her Son in her Armes after she had made prodigious escapes from danger, was forced to get into a little Boat to get to her Husband ; her Son who was then but two yearsold had like to have been the innocent cause of death to her that gave him life, by discovering twice by his crying. This extremity of theirs, and the small hopes they had of *Cæsar*'s Clemency gave them but very slender hopes : However, after the return of *Tiberius* to *Italy* by the Treaty made with *Pompey*, *Livia* was so fortunate by her beauty to Conquer the heart of *Cæsar* ; he married her and loved her passionately to the very day of his death ; And this Woman, whom *Caligula* was wont to call *Ulysses* in Petty-coats, so well knew how to manage *Cæsar*'s Temper by her cunning, that she obtained of him the Empire for her Son.

Since

Since therefore there appeared no Enemy in *Italy* after the defeat of *Tiberius*, *Cesar* went to *Rome*, where he entred in Triumphant Robes, and Crowned with Laurel. There were celebrated publick Feasts, and it was ordained, that whatever General should hereafter merit the Honour of Triumph and should be Crowned, that *Cesar* should have a share in all his Honours.

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## C H A P. XII.

*The diversions of Anthony and Cleopatra.*  
*The Prodigality of their Entertainments.*  
*The ingenuity of Cleopatra.*

**A** *Nthony* was still fixed at *Alexandria* by the Charms of *Cleopatra*, and thought of nothing but enjoying those Pleasures, she every day presented him with, in some new and delightfull shape: Never did any one possess like her the Art of refining and heightning them by the Charms of Novelty. She introduced them in the most serious business, and even the most inconsiderable trifles when managed by her, received such an Air as made them agreeable Diversions; so that whether they played or treated one another, or hunted, this Queen still made one, and was the Soul of all intermingling by some lively piece of Wit. She would often run about the Town with *Anthony* in disguise, and go into Tradesmens shops, and jeer and scold with them, where they

they many times met with very pleasant replies, and sometimes blows. 'Twas on these occasions that *Cleopatra* shewed all her Gayety and Wit, whether it were in maintaining or retorting Raillery, or in telling the story of such Adventures, with an unparallel'd grace: these ways however were very odious, and disgustfull to the graver and soberer sort of People. But the *Egyptians* who in general have a great deal of Wit, were not at all displeased with this familiar Carriage of theirs, and said pleasantly, that *Anthony* shewed them his *Comical Countenance*, and kept a *Tragical one* for the Romans. The Queen had besides invented a Society, they called the Inimitable life, and those who made the most sumptuous Entertainments carried away the Prize. The expence of these Treats were excessive, as appears by these two examples. A Greek Physician Friend to *Anthony's* Clerk of the Kitchen, came one day where the Meat was dressing, and among abundance of other provisions, he saw eight whole wild Boars a-roasting; he imagined that these were making ready for a great number of Guests, and asking his Friend, he told him smiling, *that there were to be but twelve at this Feast, but that the exact hour being uncertain, and the Meat to be served at a punctual nick of time, when it was exquisitely dress'd, and that being past, others of the same kind were prepared to be ready when called for.* This Physician being afterwards in the service

vice of *Anthony's* eldest Son, was one day at his Dinner, whither there came a canting kind of Mountebank, who as it's usual with such sort of Fellows, tired every body with the impertinence of his talk; the Physician put him this Argument, *there is some kind of Ague, wherein cold Water is good. All those that have Agues, have some kind of Ague, therefore cold water is good for all those that have Agues.* The Quack remained silent and non-plust, and *Anthony's* Son was so pleased with it that he said to the Physician, *I give thee. Philotas, for this Jest all that thou seest there, pointing to a Cupboard of golden Plates of a great value. Philotas* thanked him for this favour, believing he was onely obliged to him for his Good will. But he was very much surprized the next day, when he saw the rich Vessels brought home to his house by Slaves, followed by an Officer of the young Prince, who bid him put his mark upon them, and as he excused himself out of a belief some inconvenience might happen to him, what says the Officer to him, *do not you know that he who makes you this Present is the Son of Anthony?* But however, *If you will take my Counsel accept rather of the value in Money, for it may happen, that his Father may be concerned for the loss of some of them, because they are antick, and of the hands of excellent Masters.* The other example did not happen at this time, but yet it fitteth our subject too well to be omitted. *Anthony* by that time he returned

returned from the Parthian War, was grown a great proficient in the *Egyptian* sumptuousness and Luxury, and daily carried it on with greater delicacy and expence; yet *Cleopatra* affected being nauseated, and looked upon his Entertainments with a despising Air, onely to oblige him to ask her, as he did, *What she could add to the Magnificence of his Treats.* I will said she, *give you one*  
 52000 *l. that shall cost 10000 Sesterces*; he judged the thing impossible, and out of pure curiosity would lay a Wager with her of a considerable Sum. Next day she made a noble Feast, but it had nothing in it extraordinary. *Anthony* then believed it was his turn to Rally her, and already demanded his Wager, when the Queen desired him not to be so hasty, that this was but the first Course, and that she would sup alone on that Sum; bring in said she the second Course, they brought in onely a golden Cup filled with a very strong dissolving Vinegar. *Anthony* was waiting all this while for the end of this Mystery. *Cleopatra* had two Pearls for her Pendants of an inestimable price, never was there any thing seen more beautifull, either for the water, the largeness, or the shape of them. She then took off one and put it into the Cup, which when it was immediately dissolved she drank it up. *Plancus* that was judge of the Wager, presently laid hold on the other which she was taking off, and condemned *Anthony* to loose the Wager, who was extremely troubled



bled for the loss of such a Jewel. The remaining Pearl after the death of *Cleopatra* came into the hands of *Cesar*, who caused it to be cut asunder, and made of it two Pendants for the image of *Venus*, which he thought gloriously adorned with half of this prodigal Queen's supper. In this manner did this witty *Egyptian* Charm this great man, delightfully carrying him from one Pleasure to another, and as she had an admirable turn of Wit, she sometimes changed her pleasantness into an agreeable serious Moral. *Anthony* loved Fishing, but had never any good luck, and he seemed to be troubled at it, which indeed was a very pleasant subject for a man of his Character; but in this he was of the Humour of all Lovers, who are out of all patience when they do any thing ill before those they love, and *Cleopatra* as has been said was at all his Diversions; he made some Divers go under water and fasten Fish they had ready to his hooks, in this manner he pulled up his line two or three times well loaden, with an extreme satisfaction. The Queen though she soon understood that trick, seemed to admire his good fortune: She laugh heartily at it at night among her Favorites, and invited them to the same sport the next day, every one came and they took Boat to begin to Fish. *Anthony* threw out his line and presently felt it loaded, over-joyed he plucked it up, but was ready to fall down for shame, when he saw a piece of old Salt-fish

fish at his hook, which the Divers had fastened to it by *Cleopatra's* order, every body laughed at this pleasant adventure, and the Queen ingeniously told him, *Leave, my Lord, the Line and Nets to us Egyptians; fishing is our business, who are Sovereigns of Pharos and Canopus, yours is to take Cities, Provinces and Kings.*

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## C H A P. XIII.

*Anthony receives the news of his Brother's defeat. He resolves for War, and makes an alliance with Pompey. Cæsar marries Scribonia. The death of Fulvia. Anthony is Master of Domitius his Fleet which yields to him.*

**T**HERE was more than need of such important News as he then received to draw *Anthony* from the Charms that held him so sure; he understood that his Brother had been overthrown by *Cæsar*, that his Wife and all his Friends had quitted *Italy*, that *Cæsar* had made himself Master of *Gaul* which belonged to him, and that he had constrained the Son of *Calenus* after the death of his Father to deliver him up eleven Legions which he commanded in that Province. From another part they sent him word, that the Parthians under the command of *Pacorus* their King's Son, assisted by *Labiennus* and *Barzapharnes* had made themselves

themselves Masters of *Syria*. That *Antigonus*, the Brother of *Hircanus* High Priest of the Jews, had brought them to *Jerusalem*, which they sackt, and carried away Prisoners, *Hircanus* and *Phasaelus*, and *Herod's* brother who was himself fled into the mountains of *Judea*. These successes so disastrous to *Anthony's* affairs made him think of War, and to this end he got together two hundred Ships, his intent was immediately to fall upon his Enemies; but the earnest instances of *Fulvia* and his Friends forced him to turn toward *Italy*. He went from *Alexandria* to *Tyre*, from whence passing by the Isles of *Cyprus* and *Rhodes* he came to *Athens*, where he met *Fulvia*: He was extraordinary angry at what had happened, and above all with *Marcius*, whom he accused as the cause of ail these disorders. *Libo*, *Pompey's* Father in-Law, with *Saturninus* and some other Senatours, tryed to make a League between these two Generals, for that *Pompey* had received *Julia Anthony's* Mother with a great deal of respect, he told them, that he was extremely obliged to *Pompey* for his Civility, and that he would let slip no occasion of returning it, and that he would joyn Interests with him if *Cæsar* came to an open breach, but that if he kept to the Agreement they had made, he would engage *Cæsar* to grant him his Friendship. *Cæsar* advertised of his intentions was very willing to it, but withall forgot nothing that might make for his own interest. He under-

derhand animated the *Veterans* against *Anthony*, under pretence that *Pompey* who was engaged with him, would hinder them of their rewards which they enjoyed : though they had reason to believe that *Pompey* would doe so, yet the reputation that *Anthony* had gained at the Battel of *Philippi*, made them have a great Veneration for his Valour ; so that though *Cesar* knew himself stronger at Land, than both *Anthony* and *Pompey* joyned together, having no less than forty Legions, yet as he was not well assured of the affection of his Souldiers, and that he wanted ships of which they had great store ; he thought it convenient to hearken to an accommodation. *Scribonia* the Sister of *Libo* was a rich Widow, very considerable for the Dignity of the two Husbands she had had, but she was one of those perverse Women, whose uneasie vexatious Pride is a great plague to a Husband. *Cesar*, did not stick at preferring her before the fairest and noblest Ladies of *Rome*, that he might gain the Friendship of *Libo* who esteemed himself very much honoured by this alliance, and sent his free Consent from *Sicily*. Among the Legions of *Cesar* there were six, who were very affectionate to *Anthony*'s interest ; and as *Lepidus* lived now in *Italy* as a private Person, *Cesar* made as if it were unbecoming the Majesty of the Triumviri, and so sent him to *Africa*, the Government whereof was designed for him, with these six Legions. After he had got rid of *Lepidus* and the suspected

pected Legions, he set himself to flatter *Lucius*, and in all their Discourses praised his great Courage and his Zeal for his Countrey, and finding he valued himself very much upon this particular, even to the saying that he was ready to take up Arms against his own Brother, if he would not submit his Authority to that of the Commonwealth, he gave him very great praises for this high piece of Gallantry, and said it was not reasonable he should be employed against his own Flesh and Bloud, and to that end desired him to go and Command in *Spain*, but gave him such Lieutenants, as in effect were real Guards upon him. The merit and Character of *Cesar*, was very extraordinary, and the World must own that he is with all Justice ranked among the greatest Princes that ever were. *Suetonius* and the rest of the Historians give sufficient testimony of it; but they have none of them penetrated to the bottom of this exquisite Politician's designs, which in this place appear in their greatest excellency, and contributed full as much to his Rise as his own proper deserts: 'tis true indeed that this great Cunning was joined with great Vertues and very noble Qualities, for without them it wou'd be but a kind of sordid Craft, which commonly raises men onely for their greater confusion. *Anthony*, informed of these Transactions, advanced towards *Italy*, without shewing the least concern for *Fulvia* whom he left sick at *Si-*



\* *Corcyra.*

*cyonia*; this last neglect and scorn of her Husband finished what his infidelity had begun, she was not able to bear so many misfortunes at once, but dyed in that City lamented by very few. *Anthony* was now in a very great perplexity. *Domitius* cruized the *Ionian* Seas with a Fleet much more powerfull than his, and there was a necessity of fighting his passage. At \* *Corfu* they met, and here *Anthony* shewed that all the delights of *Egypt* had not in the least diminished that great courage which he had signalized in so many actions. He commanded his whole Fleet to lye by upon their Oars, and with five Gallies onely made up to that of *Domitius*. *Plancus*, who was none of the bravest, by no means approved of this conduct of his, terming it an extravagant piece of rashness; telling *Anthony*, It was impossible that ever *Domitius* would be his friend, who had been engaged in the Conspiracy against *J. Caesar*. In the meantime the Vessels stood their course notwithstanding all his politick reasons, and he was ready to dye with fear to see himself almost in the midst of an Enemy's Fleet that came up in a fighting posture. One of *Anthony's* Guards, who stood upon the Prow of his Gally, fiercely called to those of *Domitius* to strike their Flag to *Anthony*, who was of a higher quality than their Commander in chief. They immediately obeyed; and after they had with loud shouts and all tokens of respect saluted him General

neral, drew up round *Anthony*. The Soldiers on both sides saluted each other, and *Domitius* himself came on board *Anthony*, and delivered him up the command of his Fleet. In this manner *Appian* relates this action. But *Velleius* with more probability says, it was thus managed by an Intrigue of *Pollio's*, who by this acquitted himself of all the Obligations he owed to *Anthony*. The two Fleets being join'd came to an Anchor at *Palante*, a Town in *Epirus*, from whence they stood over to *Brundisium*.

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## C H A P. XIV.

*Anthony arrives at Brundisium. He is refused entrance. The Veterans force Cæsar and him to agree. They come to a Treaty by the mediation of Cocceius. Anthony marrys Octavia. The Punishment and Death of Salvidienus.*

**I**N this City *Cæsar* had five Legions which shut the Gates against *Anthony*, and stood upon their guard, not against him they said, but *Domitius*, *Cæsar's* declared Enemy; upon this refusal, 'he made himself Master of the Haven and Isles, and blocked up the Place. This Town is almost encompassed with the Sea, except one avenue on the Land side, which *Anthony* defended by a Trench fortified by many Towers. He sent to *Pompey*, to advance with his Forces and

enter Italy. *Anthony's* Troops besides took *Sigionte* in *Aufonia*, and *Pompey* besieged the Cities of *Thuria* and *Cosance*. *Cesar* marched with his Army in all haste, after he had detached *Agrippa*, against *Pompey*. *Agrippa* re-took *Sigionte*, and beat *Pompey* from *Thuria*. The *Veterans* were vexed at this War, and while they were drawn together by order of *Cesar* to goe against *Pompey*, as soon as they knew *Anthony* and he were joined, they refused to march. *Cesar*, though he found they were so distastet, made them follow him, which they did but onely out of a design to come to an agreement. In the mean time *Anthony* had sent for his Army from *Macedonia* and hardly pressed the besieged. He had besides manned several Vessels with Peasants and useles People, and brought them into the Port of *Brundisium* which did much intimidate the besieged, thinking he had been re-inforced with considerable Succours. He had here a misfortune which yet he fully repaired by his Valour. *Servilius*, one of his Officers, with 1200 Horse which he commanded, went over to *Cesar*. *Anthony* received this News as he was at Table; he with all his friends that were with him immediately rose, and march'd with onely 400 Horse to *Iria*, where *Cesar* had placed a body of Cavalry of 1500. These men, astonish'd with the presence of *Anthony*, whom by reason of the Victory of *Philippi* they believed invincible, yielded

yielded to him, and he brought them to his Camp. The advanced Parties on both sides came up to the very Works, and reproached each other: at length *Cæsar's* Souldiers declared to *Anthony's* that they were come thither to no other end than to oblige their two Generals to a Peace; and that if *Anthony* would not yield to it, though they had always a great veneration for his Valour, yet they were too much obliged to *Cæsar*, not to serve him till death. As *Anthony* very well knew their Valour and Experience; these Discourses made him seriously reflect upon the Consequences of these Jarrs. It hapned, the year before, *Cæsar* had sent to him *Cocceius* and *Cecinna*; the former of these was a very wise, well-meaning man, and equally obliged to *Anthony* and *Cæsar*; he easily foresaw there might arise some difference between them; he therefore sent back *Cecinna*, and staid himself with *Anthony*. When they came to *Brundusium*, he asked permission to return to *Cæsar*, offering to carry any Letter from him. *Anthony* refused to write, telling him, *That Cæsar was his Enemy, That he had nothing to send to him but Reproaches for his foul dealing, which he had already told him by Cecinna: however added laughing, If you please, I'll send twice as many Letters by you to the same purpose.* *Cocceius* answered, *That he ought not to account Cæsar his Enemy who had had so much consideration for his brother Lucius and his other*

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*friends.*

friends. 'Tis then, replied Anthony, *one of pure friendship that he shuts the Gates of Brundisium against me, debauches my Souldiers, and seizeth upon the Provinces that are fallen to my share; for, as to his Civilities, we understand the motives of them well enough; he uses my friends well, that by his self-interested Liberalities he may make them my Enemies.* Cocceius finding him too much moved, would insist upon it no longer, but went to Caesar, who appeared amazed at his return and reproached him with his long stay among his Enemies. After some Excuses, which Caesar took in good part, Cocceius laid before him the Reasons Anthony pretended he had to complain of him, upon which Caesar to clear himself said, *He had not taken the Command of the Army from the Son of Calenus, a young man and unexperienced, but onely to hinder the design of Lucius, who intended to re-establish the Authority of the Common-wealth; and that it was contrary to his Orders that the Gates of Brundisium were shut against him; but that those who commanded there thought they were obliged to it, seeing Anthony allied with Pompey their common Enemy, and accompanied with Domitius one of the Assassines of his Father Julius, and who had declared himself his Enemy by several acts of hostility.* Cocceius answered, *It was true, that by their Treaty they engaged themselves not to enter into any Alliance with the Murderers of Julius Caesar, and that Anthony had not, neither*  
would



would he ever forget the respect he owed to his memory; that Domitius was none of the Conspiracy, not being named in the Decree made against them: It was true indeed, he had followed Brutus; but if he intended to call in question all those that had done the like, he would have enough to do: As for Pompey, Anthony had not called him to the War but for his assistance in case he were attacked, or to bring them to accommodation, if he found Cæsar disposed to it. That besides, He thought himself obliged to tell him, that he himself was partly the cause of their joining, by his making War with the friends of Anthony in Italy, without which, none durst ever have entertained any correspondence with Pompey. Says Cæsar then, since you speak of Italy, you should not forget the War that Fulvia and Manius kindled against me, though all this while Pompey had never the courage to enterprize any thing upon this Country, onely now he ravages the Coasts, backed with the assistance of Anthony. There is, replies Cocceius, something more than this, which I will not offer to conceal from you, 'Tis not the Encouragement of Anthony that gives Pompey this boldness; 'Tis his positive and particular Command: He has order to make a descent, and land his whole Army, which is very considerable, and not barely to amuse himself to spoil the Sea coasts, but bring the War into the very heart of Italy, if you do not quickly make Peace. Cæsar saw well enough whither these Discourses tended, and did

not in the least take it amiss from *Cocceius*; he onely told him that *Pompey* had not yet any reason to value himself for his brave Exploits. *Cocceius* then told him of the Death of *Fulvia*, caused by her vexation, and the neglect and scorn of her Husband; and added that, this Obstacle being removed, there wanted nothing but to come to a clear understanding of each other, to make a perfect Reconciliation. *Caesar* kept *Cocceius* at Supper, and made him lodge with him, but he could not be prevailed upon to write to *Anthony*; he onely complained of *Julia*, because she chose rather to retire into *Sicily*, than give him an opportunity of shewing her the respect he always had for her, as being his Kinswoman; and that he would honour her no less than his own Mother: he prayed *Cocceius* to assure *Julia* of his Sentiments to her, and so sent him back to *Anthony*: as he went, he saw *Caesar's* chief Officers and many old Souldiers, who all testified the earnest desire they had of an Accommodation, because they were not willing to bear Arms against *Anthony*: he therefore informed him of the Intentions of *Caesar's* Souldiers, and advised him to cause *Pompey* to retire to his Island, and send away *Domitius*. *Julia* by her Authority seconded his Councils, so that *Anthony* desired *Pompey* to carry back his Troops to *Sicily*, and sent *Domitius* to command in *Bithynia*: Upon this the Souldiers of both Armies named  
three

three Commissioners to mediate the Accommodation. *Pollio* was appointed on *Anthony's* side, *Mecænas* by *Cæsar*, and *Cocceius* who had the greatest share in this negotiation, had the honour to be the Arbitratour. *Mecænas*, so well known by the praises of *Virgil* and *Horace*, was a Gentleman of an exquisite well-turned wit, of a very gentle taking humour, his merit joined with expertness in business made him be much loved by *Cæsar*, whose favour he shared with *Agrippa*. The latter rendered himself considerable by his great services, the former by his wit; the one had his esteem, the other his affection. *Mecænas* was of an illustrious race, which he derived from the ancient Kings of *Heturia*, however he contented himself with the degree of a *Roman Knight*, making all the end of his Ambition to merit the Favour of his Master, and protect and advance desert wherever he found it. The testimonies of this generous and bountifull disposition are seen with admiration in the Works of the greatest Men of his Age; he heaped his Liberalities upon them to that degree till they were obliged to say, they had nothing more to wish for: this Generosity of his has appeared so great an example to those that have pretended to be eminent for wit or learning, that in all Ages since, their Protectours have been honoured with the Name of this illustrious *Roman*, to excite them to follow his Example. The Mediatours had order to propose

propose to the two Generals a perfect Oblivion of all matters of complaint; to enter into a perpetual firm Bond of friendship; and to establish it yet more by the ties of blood, the Souldiers desired *Anthony* should marry *Octavia*, *Cesar*'s sister: she was the Widow of *Marcellus*, by whom she had a Son who afterward dyed very young, when his merit and vertues were preparing for him the Government of the World, by succeeding *Augustus* in the Empire: It was of him that *Virgil* said, the Destinies had onely shewn him to the Earth, and taken him away, fearing lest *Rome* should have had too much vanity for the possession of so much good. *Cesar* had an extreme love and tenderness for his Sister, though they were not by the same Mother; and, to doe her justice, never any of her sex deserved so much esteem for her excellent qualities: her beauty was the least thing that *Octavia* prized in her self, which yet outshined all that was glorious both at *Rome* and elsewhere, and even *Anthony* himself yielded that *Cleopatra* could not dispute even this with her: she onely valued her self upon her vertue, all her Sentiments were generous and noble; and though all her actions were animated by an incomparable grace and carriage, yet her greatest charm was sweetness and modesty, this gallant Character she always maintained with a most admirable constancy notwithstanding all the debauches of her Husband. All these

these Conditions of the Treaty were agreed to; *Cesar* and *Anthony* had an interview and embraced in the middle of the two Armies, who by their Acclamations testified their Joy for it: but these rejoycings lasted not long, for *Cesar's* Souldiers addressed to *Anthony* for the recompences he had promised them after the Battel of *Philippi*, and because he gave them a fierce denial and repulse, they had used some violence to him, if *Cesar* with large Promises had not appeased them. These two Generals then made a new Division. *Anthony* had all the Provinces of the East to *Euphrates*, from a line drawn through the middle of the *Ionian* Sea, from *Cadropolis* a City of *Illyria* to *Cyrene* in *Africk*; all from that line to the Ocean fell to *Cesar*. *Lepidus* remained in possession of *Africk*. It was concluded, that *Anthony* should make War with the *Parthians* and *Cesar* with *Pompey*, if he refused to submit to reasonable conditions; that *Cesar* should give *Domitius* the same assurance that *Anthony* had, and pardon all those that had born Arms against him at *Perusia*. This plainly manifests that in a Civil War, the Heads for the most part consider their own Interests, by which alone they regulate their hatred or their friendship. To these Conditions they added also that the *Triumviri* might in *Italy* levy as many Souldiers as they had occasion for. *Anthony* sent *Ventidius* against the *Parthians*, and *Helenus*, *Cesar's* freed-man, went into *Sardinia*, where *Me-*



\* *Tuscany.*

*nas* made War with *Lucius*, *Cesar's* Lieutenant. *Menas* had already destroyed and spoiled the Coasts of \* *Hebruria*, and taken *Titius*, who was gathering Forces in *Gallia Narbonensis*. *Pompey* pardoned *Titius* in favour of his Father who was with him in *Sicilia*, and because his had the name of *Pompey* written on their shields; but afterwards we shall see that *Titius* requited this favour with a piece of horrible ingratitude. As for *Menas*, after some skirmishes, he beat *Lucius* and took *Helenus*, whom with the other Prisoners he sent to *Cesar*; but he, provoked with the loss of *Sardinia*, would not hear of any Accommodation with *Pompey*. The two *Triumviri* went to *Rome*, where *Anthony* married *Octavia* with a dispensation of the Senate, because Widows were forbid to marry till the tenth month after their Husbands decease. All Reconciliations between great Men are ever made at some body's cost; whether it is they imagine their confidence to be more firmly established by these Sacrifices they make one another, or that a Secret is burthensome to them, or that they vent their common fury and discontent upon some unfortunate perfidious person, who by taking his measures on both sides, and Trimming, thinks to make his fortune; but so it was, that *Salvidienus* was the Victim of this Reconciliation. *Anthony* revealed to *Cesar*, that this Man had offered him his Troops and his Service when he sent him into *Gall*,  
and

and had repeated these Offers to him at *Brundisium*. *Cæsar*, mortally offended at this perfidiousness, accused him before the Senate; he was by it declared Foe to *Cæsar* and the People of *Rome*, and dragged to punishment; there were publick Prayers made and Thanks given to the Gods for the discovery of this Treason. *Anthony* was blamed for discovering this, and censured for being too fond of a new-made friendship: he on his part would make his Justice remarkable in putting *Manius* to death, who had been the principal Authour of the War of *Perusia* and Instigatour of the ungovern'd Passions of *Fulvia*.

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## C H A P. XV.

*Rome afflicted with Famine; the People mutiny against Anthony and Cæsar; they agree with Pompey; his Generosity.*

THE People of *Rome* had but very little share in the rejoicing for this marriage; they were reduced to a very great extremity by the dearth of Corn. *Pompey* who was Master of *Sicilia* hindred the traffick and importation from *Greece* and the East, and his Lieutenants in *Sardinia* stopp'd that of *Africk* and *Spain*. One cannot but wonder that this People who  
treated

treated all other Nations as Slaves, at this time were dying of hunger, without their assistance; such a dependence they were reduced to, which was without doubt by reason of the incredible number of the Inhabitants and the Desolation the Wars had made in *Italy*; and this is no ordinary Example of the revolution of humane things, that at this time *Africa* was the refuge, and as one may say, the Nurse of *Rome*. *Anthony* pressed *Cesar* either to an Accommodation with *Pompey*, or to a vigorous open War with him, to open the Trade; but they wanted Money, which obliged them to lay on two Impositions, the one of four *drachma's* and a half for every Slave, the other upon Successions and Legacies left by Testaments. The People irritated by want, rose up in opposition to these Edicts, and assaulted *Cesar* in the *Forum*; and *Anthony* going to his aid was at first spared by the Rabble, who cried out, and bid him retire while he advised them to be peaceable; but when he endeavoured to scatter the Mutineers, they threw Stones at him too, and he had like to have been slain, if he had not drawn some Troops which were encamped just without into the Town, who charged the Mobile and killed several of them, and the Souldiers threw their bodies into the *Tyber*. This chastising of them quelled the Mutiny, but not the Famine; and therefore *Anthony* was forced to write to *Libo*, to desire him to come to *Rome*. *Pompey*,

pey, as was said before, was *Libo's* Son-in-law, and *Cesar* had married his Sister. *Libo* came as far as the Island of \* *Enaria*, \* *Ischia*. where he expected his Pass-ports; no sooner was his Voyage known at *Rome*, but the People tumultuously assembled to demand Peace of the *Triumviri*, and threatned *Mutia*, *Pompey's* Mother, to burn her in her own house if she did not incline her Son to it. It was no less desired on his side. *Murcus*, whose credit with him was very great, advised it with all earnestness. *Menas* alone opposed it for his own particular interest, because he was onely valued by *Pompey* for his experience in War: he wrote to him, that *Murcus* aspired to the Sovereign Authority, which *Pompey* too easily believed upon the instigation of this enfranchized Slave. *Murcus* by his usage soon perceived it, which made him retire to *Syracusa*, where he was murdered by some Slaves, whom afterwards *Pompey* executed, to clear himself from the Murther. It was believed however that he was the Authour of it, or that *Menas* had done it by his order. This Action very much displeased the Senatours that were retired to *Pompey*, who by this saw themselves exposed to the capricious humour of a Man governed by Creatures whose base originals and condition made them capable of all sorts of Villany. In the mean time *Libo* came to *Rome*, and persuaded *Cesar* and *Anthony* to an interview with *Pompey*, that they in person, face to face, might

\* *Puzzolo.*

might put an end to their differences. *Pompey* at the earnest solicitation of all his Officers, not being able to refuse this, with his Fleet advanced to \* *Puteoli*, there was a kind of a Mole made, where the Mount *Misenum* runs into the Sea, for the convenience of the Conference. *Pompey* and *Libo* in a Gally, and the two others upon the Peere. *Pompey* immediately demanded to be an Associate in the Empire instead of *Lepidus*, which was absolutely refused, as a piece of injustice they scorned to use to their Companion that was absent; there was much contest about this Article, and they parted without doing any thing. The following days they treated by Deputies. *Pompey* then let fall this Pretension, so that all the difficulty of the Negotiation was reduced to these three Articles. 1. That those who were Accomplices in the Assassination of *Julius Caesar* should be onely banished into some Place they would make choice of themselves. 2. That those who for other causes were proscribed, should have liberty of returning to *Rome*. And, 3. That these last should be restored to their Estates. *Anthony* and *Cesar* rejected the two first Articles, and onely granted the Proscripts, who were none of the Conspiratours, leave to buy their Estates. Those who were about *Pompey*, terrified by the Example of *Marcus*, consented to return to *Rome* upon this condition. But he was very much displeased with them for it, and tearing



tearing his Clothes for very rage and spight, called them Deserters and Fugitives; and said that of all his friends Menas alone had given him faithfull and uninterested counsell. In the end, the People of Rome pressing on one side, and *Mucia* and *Julia* on the other, they had a second interview, and the Treaty was concluded upon these Conditions; That from this moment the War should cease both by Sea and Land; That Commerce and Navigation should be free; That *Pompey* should withdraw his Troops from *Italy*; That he should not retain the Slaves that fled to him; That he should suffer no Inroads or Descents to be made upon the Coasts or in the Ports of *Italy*; That he should build no more Vessels than those he had already; and that he should immediately send all the Corn he had stored up to *Rome*; upon this Condition they granted him for five years *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, and all the Isles which he was in possession of, and *Peloponnesus*. All the rest of the *Roman* Empire to remain to the *Triumviri*. They agreed besides, That *Pompey* might in his absence, by any of his friends, demand the Consulship, and that he should have the dignity of *Pontifex* or High-priest. As for those who were proscribed, all those who had not had a hand in the Conspiracy might return to *Rome*; those who had not committed any Crime, but were fled to *Pompey* onely for fear, should enjoy all their Estates, and the culpable the fourth part

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onely. The Slaves which had served under *Pompey* should be declared free; and the free Souldiers, after their time of Service was expired, should have their share of the division of Lands, as those of *Caesar* and *Anthony*. This Treaty was signed by the three Chiefs, and after it was sealed they sent it to *Rome*, to be deposited in the hands of the Vestals. They then agreed to treat each other, as a mark and token of their sincere reconciliation. *Pompey* chose to begin, and when *Caesar* and *Anthony* asked him where he would receive them; shewing them his Galley, answered pleasantly, In my Vessels. The word *Carinas* in Latine signifies Vessels or Ships, and was likewise the name of a Place in *Rome* where *Pompey* the Great had a noble Palace, which *Anthony* had seized on by right of Confiscation: He understood the Raillery well enough, but here we must allow that *Caesar* and he extremely forgot their prudence upon this occasion; and this entertainment had like to have cost them dear, if *Pompey* had not had a generous great Soul: as he was at Table with *Caesar* and *Anthony*, and they began to railly *Anthony* upon his fondness for *Cleopatra*, *Menas* approached *Pompey*, and whispering him in the Ear told him, *My Lord, You may now revenge the death of your father and brother, and make your self master of the world; 'tis but cutting the Cables, let me alone for the rest.* The blow was sure, and the temptation violent. *Pompey*

py had there all his Fleet in Battalia, and the Troops of the other two were ashoar. He, after a little pause, answered him, *Menas may violate his faith, that may be fit for him, but not for Pompey.* We have already mentioned, that it was a very unfortunate thing to have the Character of great men onely from Historians, who either through fear or flattery decryed the Enemies of the Prince they followed. *Velleius*, who wrote in the time of *Augustus*, gives us a very ill Portraicture of *Pompey*. 'Tis easily perceived he had not all the prudence and dexterity of wit that *Cesar* had, that was rather a defect in his education; but that nobleness of mind which he drew from his birth and disposition, and which he shewed here against his own Interest, is enough to cover all his defects, and ought to oblige them to treat his memory more favourably, which even this action alone is sufficient to render illustrious. *Plutarch* relates this adventure somewhat differently, he makes *Pompey* give this answer to the Proposal of *Menas*; *You should have done it without telling me, but now I'm of opinion we ought to keep our word, and keep inviolable that faith we have engaged.* We may perceive by this Answer that so considerable an advantage joined to the pleasure of Revenge, at first surprized his Generosity, but it was onely to make it break out with greater force, and triumph the more in rejecting a perfidious action,

what profit soever might accrue, and for this reason this act of his deserves no less praise.

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C H A P. XVI.

*The People's Joy upon the first News of the Peace. Caesar goes into Gaul, and Anthony stays at Athens.*

THESE Diversions did not hinder them from thinking of more firmly establishing their Authority by Alliances. Pompey promised his daughter to *Marcus Marcellus* the Son of *Octavia*, and they named the Consuls for the four following years. *Anthony* and *Libo* were declared the first, on condition that *Anthony* might exercise his Office by the deputation of one of his friends; *Caesar* and *Pompey* were designed the second; *Domitius* and *Sosius* the third; and *Anthony* and *Caesar* were appointed to succeed them for the fourth. Upon this they parted. *Pompey* returned to *Sicilia*, and the two *Triumvirs* to *Rome*. This Peace, which put an end to all the Civil wars, was received and welcomed through all *Italy* with an incredible Joy; the People wherever they past offered publick Sacrifices; they ran in Crowds before them, giving them a thousand Thanks and Praises.

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The *Romans* above all witnessed their satisfaction by Bonfires, Games and publick Feasts: they had prepared them a magnificent entry; but *Anthony* and *Cesar* refused that honour, and went into *Rome* by night: those onely were troubled at the Peace, who had made their profit and advantage by the Confiscations of the banished persons which they had usurped, and which got them powerfull Enemies, for all the proscribed persons returned to *Rome* after they had assured *Pompey* of their eternal acknowledgments and obligations to him. Thus had he the glory of preserving many illustrious members of the Republick, as *Tiberius*, *Silanus*, *Sentius*, *Arontius* the Son of *Cicero*, and other Senatours; their return redoubled the *Romans* Joy, who for this gave publick thanks to the Gods. *Cesar*, to keep his Souldiers exercised and in military discipline, of which Idleness is the greatest plague and destruction, sent one part of his Forces into *Dalmatia*, and led the rest himself into *Gaul*, where some Rebels had begun to make some stirs. *Anthony*, who remained at *Rome*, left it some time after, to go to the *Parthian* War. Before he went, he caused to be ratified by the Senate all he had done in *Asia*; and besides, approve all he had designed to doe for the future. The Kings he had established were confirmed by Ordinance of the Senate in their severall Kingdoms, as *Darius* in *Pontus*, *Pharnaces* in *Idumaea*, *Herod* in *Judaea*,



*Amintas* in *Pisidia*, and *Polemon* in *Cilicia*. One part of his Troops was sent into *Illyria*, another against the *Dardanians*, and the rest into *Epirus*. The City of *Athens* he chose to pass the Winter away in with *Octavia*, in this place he pleased himself so much, that he intirely gave himself over to his pleasures and diversions, quitting all the tokens and marks of his Authority to live like a private person. At the publick Games and Exercises he assisted clad in *Grecian* habit, and took the pains himself to part the Combatants. In his Court there was no business talked of but onely Learning and Philosophy. He often visited the *Academia*, the *Lyceum*, and those places destined to the study of Philosophy which have given so much reputation to that famous City. He spent whole days to hear their Disputations and their Conferences; their Feasts and Entertainments always ended these pleasing Diversions, and these Treats were not made with the Profusion of the *Egyptians*, but according to the Sobriety and Modesty of the *Greeks*. *Octavia* went with him every where: In this charming Wife he enjoyed all the delights of *Cleopatra*, and those excellent Vertues besides, which the *Egyptian* had not. *Octavia* had certainly been Mistress of his Heart, if she had not had the misfortune of being his Wife: but *Anthony* was one of those who think all innocent pleasures insipid. But *Octavia* had not onely this Rival, the extra-

extravagance of the *Athenians* went as far as heaven to find her out another; however sordid Flatterers were never better served; *Anthony* they always called *Bacchus*, and in this quality all mortals were much below him; they proposed he should marry *Minerva*, the Patroness of their City. *Anthony* accepted of the match; but for the more honour of such an Alliance, he asked a thousand talents for her portion; but says one of the Match-makers pleasantly to him, *My Lord, Jupiter asked nothing with your Mother Semele.* *Anthony*, however he laugh'd at this Jest, would bate nothing of the Sum. It was levyed upon all the Inhabitants, who revenged themselves according to their custome, that is, by raillery, of which the Love of *Cleopatra* was the principal subject. Under the Statue of *Anthony* they wrote these words, *Octavia and Minerva, to Anthony, take the baggage again, and let's part.* He laugh'd at their Jests, but took their money, though *Dellius*, to mortifie them the more, made as if he seriously told him he acted against the *Roman* Laws, which allowed three years for the payment of a Portion. As soon as the Winter was passed, *Anthony* re-assumed with the marks of his dignity all the Majesty of an Emperour; he was no more seen but in the company of his Commanders. *Athens* was filled with Souldiers, who soon scared away the Muses. He received the Ambassadors of all the Princes, and

thought of nothing but putting his Fleet to Sea, building of Gallies, and preparing all things necessary for the War he was going to undertake.

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C H A P. XVII.

*New Causes of breach between Cæsar and Pompey. Cæsar marries Livia. Several Fights between the Lieutenants of Cæsar and Pompey.*

THE Treaty of Peace between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* had regulated their pretension, but not their Ambition; it had not extinguished in them that Enmity which was in a manner natural to them, considering what fatal effects it had produced between their Fathers, whose animosity yet subsisted in the minds of their adherents: the apparent subject of their difference was *Peloponnesus*. *Cæsar* pretended that the sums due upon account by that Province were by the Treaty due to the *Triumviri*; that *Pompey* ought to be responsible for them; and either recover it, or permit them to doe it. *Pompey* maintained that, in giving him that Countrey, they gave it him exempt from all Charges: he had still a very formidable Fleet, which by the Council of *Menas* he daily augmented; this was another subject of Complaint for *Cæsar*, who, at taking

king some Pirates, they owned that *Pompey* had given them Commissions to pillage the Coasts of *Italy*: It hapned that the Senators that were about *Pompey*, offended at the insolence of his freed-men, killed some of them; and *Menas*, not thinking *Pompey* concern'd enough for it, was disgusted with him. *Philadelphus*, the Freed-man of *Cesar*, had an opportunity of seeing *Menas* in the heat of his resentment and dealt with him to draw him to the service of *Cesar*; promising him the Government of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, with three Legions. *Cesar* immediately disowned his freed-man, not being willing, as he said, to begin the War; he wrote to *Anthony* to return to *Italy* to regulate all these differences by his Authority: but though *Cesar* seemed intirely taken up by such important affairs, he found some in another place which were much more agreeable; and *Livia* was the subject of them. The beauty of this woman, joined with a refined and dextrous wit, made the greater impression upon his heart, which was disgusted at the bitter insupportable humour of *Scribonia*, since it is a known truth, that there is nothing makes a Mistrefs appear more advantageous to the eyes of a discontented husband, than the reflexion he makes upon the opposite disagreeable manners of an ill Wife. *Cesar* could not long hold out against so many charms on one side, nor against the daily vexations *Scribonia* gave him on the other; he divorced her,  
and

and his love for the other was so violent, that either by his entreaties or his authority he obliged *Tiberius* to yield him *Livia*, although then big with child; but as this great belly was an obstacle to his passion, he consulted the Priests, to know if it was lawfull to marry her in this condition. The Answer was, that if there was any doubt who was the Father of the child, it was unlawfull to marry the Mother, but that the Vertue of *Livia* leaving no room for doubt, *Cesar* might lawfully receive her from the hands of her Husband, according to the custome of the *Roman* Laws, which permitted divorce. Perhaps, says *Dion*, this Answer was founded upon the ancient Law; but if it had not, they would have been cautious to have decided it otherwise. In the Ceremony of marriage *Tiberius* performed the office of Father, and there then fell out an accident which was very pleasant. *Livia* had with her a little child who usually diverted her by a hundred pretty prattling stories, and seeing she was at Table near *Cesar*, and that *Tiberius* was in another place farther off, said to *Livia*, *What do you doe there, Madam? Look, There's your Husband*; shewing her *Tiberius*: this was not the onely Jest upon this Subject; for *Livia* being delivered at his house at the end of three months, they said at *Rome* that every thing favoured the fortunate; since their very children came in three months time. In the mean while, the Lieutenants of *Cesar*



*far* had got together a great number of Vessels at *Ravenna*, and the Forces were recalled from *Gallia* when *Anthony* arrived at *Brundisium*; but *Cesar* not being there at the time appointed, he returned into *Greece*, whether it was because he was ill attended, or that he had some mistrust from *Cesar's* Fleet which was very strong, or terrified by prodigies, is uncertain. One of his Sentinels was devoured by Wolves, who left nothing of him whole but his Face, and the main Guard which was near perceived nothing of it; and the Inhabitants of the City told *Anthony* that, at break of day they had seen a Wolf come out of his Tent. Whatever his reasons were, he went back and left Letters for *Cesar*, whereby he exhorted him to keep to the Conditions of the last Treaty, and claimed *Menas* as belonging to him from the succession of *Pompey* the Great, which was allotted to him. This freed-man without any more deliberation went over to *Cesar* to have his protection, and delivered him up *Sardinia* and *Corfica*: he was very well received by *Cesar*, and they granted him all the rights and privileges of one free-born: this his deserting broke all the measures that were possible to be taken for an accommodation. *Cesar* wrote to the Senate to justify his conduct, he harangued his Army, and made his Lieutenant *Calvisius* advance, and he soon after followed accompanied with *Menas*. *Pompey* was then at *Messana*, from whence he sent out his Fleet  
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commanded by *Menecrates*, a mortal foe to *Menas*; the two Fleets came up to each other about Sun set, near the Island of *Enaria*. *Cesar's* Fleet passed the night in the Bay of *Cumes*, and *Menecrates* rode at Anchor without: in the morning he made up to the enemies who lay near the shoar, either to force them to fight or to run foul upon the Rock. *Menecrates* was the more advantageously posted by reason he might receive assistance from the Sea-ward, and the others were shut up between the Fleet and Shoar, and had nothing but their valour to trust to; as for *Menas*, he was courageous even to rashness; who as he had distinguished *Menecrates*, he made down upon him with extraordinary fury. The use of Cannon was not known in those days, so that Sea-fights were decided by handy-stroaks, grappling the Vessels, and coming board and board, after they had born the first shock, which was usually very violent, because the beak or spur of their Gallies was armed with Iron or Brass; the weakest went often to the bottom by this first on-set, and almost all their Ships of war had Oars in the nature of our Gallies to goe with greater force. The first brunt of these freed-men was very terrible; *Menas* lost the beak head of his Gally, and *Menecrates* had his rudder broke. Then they grappled; and, as if this Fight between them were to decide the fortune of the Battel, they fought with desperation, the hatred of these men animating them as  
much

much as glory did others. *Menecrates*, his Vessel was higher than the other, which was a considerable advantage to him for the lancing of darts, which were thrown downright upon that of *Menas*, who, by his extreme courage, seconded by the bravery of his Souldiers maintained a stout Fight, though he had a pile through his Arm, which he pulled out without quitting his post; in this instant *Menecrates* was hurt in his Thigh by a barbed Dart, which put him from fighting himself; and, though he still encouraged his men, yet *Menas's* made more bold by this advantage boarded his Gally so vigorously that they soon made themselves Masters of it. *Menecrates*, in despair for his Defeat, threw himself into the Sea, rather than fall into the hands of his Enemy, who sent the conquered Ship towards the shoar, and he himself bore down to help *Calvisius*, who fought in the starboard division or the right wing of the Batrel. This Lieutenant or Vice-admiral had at the beginning of the engagement broke the larboard division or left wing of *Pompey*; but, as he too closely pursued those that ran, *Demochares*, *Menecrates's* Vice-admiral, rallied and prest the remainder of *Calvisius's* Squadron so warmly that he took some of them, and forced the others to buldge upon the Rocks, where he burn'd them. *Calvisius*, though a little of the latest, perceived his error, came up to the assistance of his Squadron, and saved some  
of

of them, and, night coming on, retired into the Bay of *Cumes*, although the loss fell heaviest on *Cesar's* side. *Demochares*, astonished at the death of *Menecrates*, retreated to *Sicilia*, which gave opportunity to *Calvisius* to goe out of this Gulf in a very ill equipage. *Cesar* was then with a powerfull Fleet at *Tarentum*, from whence he went to *Rhegium* to attack *Pompey*, who had onely four Sail in the Port of *Messana*. *Cesar*, against the Advice of his Officers, would stay for *Calvisius*, in the mean time, *Demochares* joined *Pompey*; who made *Apollophanes*, his Rere-admiral; they were both of them freed-men, and certainly these fellows, whom he preferred before so many noble *Romans*, had either a great deal of gallantry and desert, or a very great influence over him: In this Place *Cesar* received the News of the Fight at *Cumes*, and resolved to pass the Strait or Phare of *Messina* to meet *Calvisius*. *Pompey*, seeing him engaged in this narrow passage, engaged the rere-most Vessels, and forced the others to draw up close aboard the shoar to make head against him. *Demochares*, having a Port behind him, attacked them with great advantage in this narrow strait, where every Ship of *Cesar's* had two Enemies upon the Bow, without being able to be relieved by the others, several of them ran a-shoar either purposely or forced to it. *Cesar* himself was constrained to throw himself a-shoar, and never did he run more risque than

than at this time ; and as he went upon the coast to rally his men that saved themselves out of the shattered Vessels , he perceived some *Brigantines* that came close along the shoar , he imagined them to belong to his own Fleet , and did not perceive his Errour till he was surrounded by the Enemies that landed. The knowledge that he had of the turning ways of a neighbouring mountain , at that time preserved him from that danger to throw him into another no less hazardous. A Slave of *Emilius Paulus* , who was then with *Cesar* , and whose Father had been banished , believed that a fit opportunity offered it self of revenging his Master. He came near to *Cesar* , as they marched in disorder , and stroke at him with his Sword ; the darkness of the night made him miss his blow , and he was immediately killed by the Souldiers upon the Place ; so that Fortune , or , to speak more properly , Providence preserved in one day from three imminent dangers the Man that was destined for the Empire of the World. When he had gained the top of the Mountain , he rallied as many of his Souldiers as he could. In the mean time *Cornificius* , who commanded under him , still maintained the Combat by his bravery and example , he had given the Galley of *Demochares* so rude a shock that he sank it , and as that freed-man went aboard another , he perceived *Calvisius* and *Menas* , who came to *Cesar's* assistance : This made him sound  
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a Retreat, to the great wonder of *Cesar's* Army, who were reduced to extremity, and did not see the arrival of this succour. The weakness of the Souldiers, and the ill plight of the Vessels hindred them from pursuing the Enemies. They went a-shoar, and there made great Fires. This night was very painfull to the Souldiers, but no body past it with more perplexity than *Cesar* himself in the disquiet, to know the fate of his Fleet: these Fires, which he descryed from the top of the mountain, gave him some Hopes, which he endeavoured to inspire the Souldiers with that were with him. But incertainty and doubt are very vexatious, and the state he left his Fleet in gave him mortal apprehensions. His Troops that were spread along the Coast had no less, hearing no news of their General. By good fortune the thirteenth Legion, which was nearest him, perceived the Fires he had lighted on the top of the mountain: they were detached to know what it was; and when they understood who it was, the Souldiers of this Legion mounted the Rocks without following any Path, and came to him: he had then none of his household about him; so that night he was waited on by the Souldiers: he sent every where to learn news of his Troops; and knowing *Calvisius* was safe arrived, he passed the rest of the night with more tranquillity.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*The wreck of Cæsar's Fleet. The arrival of Anthony at Brundisium. He agreed with Cæsar, by means of Octavia.*

THE day appearing *Cæsar* saw his Vessels stranded upon the Coast, some half burnt, others quite consumed, the Sea was all covered with the Wreck; but that which afflicted him most was, to see the Enemy approach to finish his Defeat. He sent to *Calvisius* to put the remainders of his Fleet into a fighting posture; and he himself prepared to assist him. The Enemies were ready drawn up in battalia, without moving, waiting to engage *Calvisius* as soon as ever he began to work: When immediately the Sea began to run very high with a Southerly wind. *Pompey* retired into the Port of *Messana*. *Menas*, who had a perfect experience in Sea affairs, stood into the *Offin* with his Vessels, where he rode with all his Anchors down, and stemmed the head Sea with the force of his Oars: so the greatest fury of the Storm fell upon *Cæsar's* Gallies, who were anchored close by the shoar, and had ran out Booms betwixt them and it, to hinder their striking. But the Wind increasing, and the Sea rolling upon them very furiously, all fell into disorder, and after the Cables broke and gave way,

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way, some were bulged against the Rocks, and others stranded. The noise of the Storm hindred the Pilots from being heard: they could no longer work the Ships; so that in this confusion falling foul of one another, the weakest were split by the stronger. There one might see Souldiers, Sailors and Officers swallowed by the Waves, or else half dead striving to swim to land. Night came on and increased the horreur and disorder: there was nothing heard but lamentable Cryes mingled with the noise of the Waves and Wind. One cryed out for help, another called to his Comrade; almost all of them bewailed their miserable state and invoked the assistance of the Gods: the most courageous silently waited their destiny; but there were some that, moved by a fantastical kind of despair, killed themselves, as if in Death they expected something worse than Death it self. At the return of the Sun the fury of the Wind slackned, and some time after the Storm ceased. The Inhabitants of those Coasts affirmed that in the memory of Man there had not been felt any so terrible as this. In this *Cæsar* lost two thirds of his Fleet, with what he lost in the Fight: to shun the sight of this dismal spectacle, he went to *Vibonium*. From this Place he sent Orders to his Lieutenants, to double their care and their guard, that *Pompey* upon this advantage might not attempt some considerable Enterprize, which he thought not on in the least,

least, for which oversight he was very much blamed; nay, he was so negligent as to let the rest of *Cæsar's* shattered Fleet pass by him to *Vibonium*; but this carelessness of his was the utter ruine of all his Designs and of his Reputation. *Cæsar* went into *Campania* very much afflicted at his loss: he now found himself without Ships or Money, and the People of *Rome* famished and in general crying out against this War: he dispatched *Mecænas* to *Anthony*, to demand his assistance, and to explain himself upon some small occasion of complaints between them, and at all hazard resolved to transport his Army into *Sicilia* upon Ships of burthen and Hulks, and attack *Pompey* in his Isle. In the mean time the City of *Rome* was much terrified with the Prodigies which hapned at that time: from *Africk* there came News, that at *Clypea* a shoal of *Dolphins* had fought with so much fury, that they were all killed; that it had rained blood: it was besides observed at *Rome*, that on a very great Festival none of the Senators had eaten in the Capitol that day, which was taken for a very ill omen. One of these Prodigies onely was welcome to *Cæsar*, because it was very pleasing to *Livia*; as she was in the Countrey, an *Eagle* let fall into her lap, a milk white Hen, who held a branch of Laurel in her Bill: She was no less glad than surprized at so extraordinary an adventure. She bred up the Hen, and planted the Laurel, which thrived

ved so well in a short time, that it afforded crowns to all those that triumph'd afterward, from that time till *Nero* ; under whom this Laurel and all the young shoots of it withered all on a sudden, and at the same time ended the race of the white Hens, which presaged the Death of that Emperour, who was the last of the *Cesar* Family. But, in spite of all these dire Portents, *Cesar* had intelligence of two things, which very much re-assured him; the one was, that *Anthony* was coming to his aid, and that in *Agrippa* he had quite routed the *Gaules* in a very great Battel. This turn of good fortune, as it's very usual, confirmed several of his Party to his Interest, who by this time began to waver. Every one strove to offer him Money and Vessels, by which means he set forth a gallant Fleet, which at this time very much raised his hopes. *Anthony* arrived at *Brundisium* with three hundred Sail, giving out, he came to assist *Cesar* in this War. *Cesar* could very well have dispensed with it. He thought he was already too powerfull, and therefore sought all manner of Pretences to excuse his going to meet *Anthony*, who was not over-well satisfied with his Proceedings. He had need of Souldiers, to make War with the *Parthians*; and willing to spare the charge of a Fleet, he designed *Cesar* should take his Fleet and give him Land-forces. *Octavia* offered to goe to her Brother, to clear all their doubts and suspicions,



ons, and induce him to give her Husband this satisfaction. As soon as *Cæsar* saw her, he gave her a large account of the Dangers he had run in his War with *Pompey*; very much amplifying them and *Anthony's* negligence in assisting him. *Octavia* presently stopp'd his Accusations, telling him, *Mecænas* had already received full satisfaction as to this point; and that he had assured that there should be no more said of it. *Cæsar* twitted her, that *Anthony* had sent *Callias* to *Lepidus* to engage him to make War against him. She replied, *Callias* had no Commission, but onely to propose a Match between his son and *Anthony's* daughter, and offered to deliver him up the man, that he might draw the truth from him by torture. And finding *Cæsar* began to hearken to her, she endeavoured to gain his Ministers, the chief of whom were *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*: they had both of them a profound respect for *Octavia*, being very sensible of the influence she had over her Brother's humour. You see, said she, *Octavia*, a woman of the greatest quality in the world, just upon the point of being made the most miserable of her sex, if by your care and good counsels you keep her not from these misfortunes. All the Roman Empire has their eyes upon me, as being the sister of *Cæsar* and wife of *Anthony*; if my evil destiny should carry them to make war, you have a chance of fortune in favour of you; but what side soever falls, I shall be unfortunate, and shall be reduced to the cruel

necessity of bewailing the loss of a husband or a brother. This moving Argument, joined with the affection *Cæsar* had for his Sister, obliged him to come to an interview with *Anthony*. For this end they chose a place between *Metapontum* and *Tarentum*, upon a River that bears the name of the latter. *Anthony* came thither the first, and as soon as he saw *Cæsar* coming, he leaped into a Boat, to goe and receive him on the other side the River. *Cæsar*, not to be behind-hand with him in Civility, hastily advanced in another Boat; they met in the midst of the River, where, after they embraced, they had a very obliging contest, on which side they should land; *Anthony* was earnest to land on *Cæsar*'s, and he on *Anthony*'s: *Cæsar* at last prevailed, under Pretence of waiting on his Sister who was returned to *Tarentum*: they walked together to this Town, where *Cæsar* spent the night without any other Guards about his person than those of *Anthony* who next day went likewise without Guards, and lay in *Cæsar*'s Camp; upon which *Appian* says very well, that this excess of confidence was as great a sign of their Levity, as the differences they had upon every slight occasion. They concluded that *Cæsar* should put off his Enterprize against *Pompey* till Spring, because *Anthony* could no longer defer his expedition against the *Parthians*, that he should give *Cæsar* 120 Sail, who should furnish him with two Legions of *Italian* Souldiers; and *Octavia*,  
upon

upon her own account, gave her Brother twenty great Vessels, the best that were in her Husband's Fleet, and *Cesar* complemented her with 4000 old Souldiers, to increase the number of her Guards; and the five years of the *Triumvirate* being almost finished, they prolonged it five more purely by their own Authority, without valuing the consent of the People or the ratification of the Senate. But that which is most surprizing in this Argument is, that *Anthony*, who found *Octavia* so amiable, who so much admired her vertue, and who owed to her care all the advantages he reaped by this Treaty, would leave her and a daughter he had by her in *Italy*; and, for all this, *Cesar* did not blame the injustice of his Proceeding. The reasons they both had for their proceeding thus are not come to our knowledge, and therefore the Historians have left us the liberty to guess at them. 'Tis not very hard to divine, that *Anthony*, returning into the East with his Soul filled with the imagination of those pleasures with which *Cleopatra* had so long charmed him, he look'd upon his Wife but onely as an obstacle to his pleasures, upon the false principle of men of his character; that all the honour and reputation is the Wife's right, but the heart and affection the Mistress's. And as he knew *Octavia's* vertue would remain unshaken in spite of all his ill-usage and infidelity, he knew he could leave no body near *Cesar* who would inspire

him with better Sentiments for him and his interest. As for *Cæsar*, whose reach was so extraordinary, although he were very sensible of this injury, he knew well enough the noise *Anthony's* usage of his wife would make in the World, and how it would load him with all the hatred of the *Romans*, who had a great veneration for his Sister; and therefore, it may be, was very glad of the occasion of so just a pretence of a breach with *Anthony*, when he saw it was most for his advantage. At this time *Menas*, incited by his natural levity and inconstancy, or outraged he was not considered as he deserved, abandoned the party of *Cæsar*, and returned to *Pompey* with his Gallies, without *Calvisius* perceiving his revolt; which made *Cæsar* take from him the Command of the Navy, to give it to *Agrippa*.

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### C H A P. XIX.

*Cæsar puts a powerfull Fleet to Sea, commanded by Agrippa. He attacks Pompey in Sicilia. Lepidus comes to Cæsar's assistance. Several Actions.*

**A** *Grrippa*, the better to acquit himself with honour in this Command, resolved to have a potent Navy at Sea, and to fit it out with more ease and convenience, he

he made use of two Lakes, the *Lucrinus* and the *Avernus*. The Lakes were *Reservoirs*, of a prodigious extent, made by incredible labour and expence in places where the Sea working over the banks in foul weather had naturally formed a kind of Basin or Pool: in these Places, Art assisting Nature had hollowed these vast Receptacles, and made them capable of holding a great Fleet: here too were used and fattened those Oysters, Lampreys and other Sea-fish, which were made so famous by being made the chief ingredients of the *Roman* Luxury: these Places had communication with the Sea by Sluices. *Cesar* had given freedom to Twenty thousand Slaves, upon condition they were to serve at the Oar. After *Agrippa* had employed the remainder of this year and all the next to build several Vessels, and fit out the other, he daily exercised his Souldiers and his *Chiorne*, sometimes by Prizes which he gave the best Rowers, otherwhiles by Mock-fights, wherein he put in practice all the necessary motions that belonged to Sea-fights: by this means he trained up expert Mariners and good Souldiers: and *Cesar*, who knew his zeal and active diligence, entirely relied on him. But as the Loss he had formerly sustained was believed to be, an effect of the anger of the Gods; he resolved to appease them with great Sacrifices. He assembled all his Navy at *Puteoli*, where the Ministers designed for this function were also met: they raised Altars



tars on the Sea-shoar, which were sprinkled with the Sea-water, in sight of all the Souldiers who were in the Vessels in a profound Silence: after which the Sacrificers in Pinnaces offered up Victims, and, accompanied by the principal Commanders, rowed round the Fleet, carrying the limbs of the Sacrifices; they beseeched the Gods, that all the misfortunes the Fleet was threatened with might fall upon those Victims then offered; and at the same time threw some into the Sea; the rest were burned: and then, they returned to the Altars, which they perfumed with Incense and sweet odours, while all the Assistents offered up their Vows, Prayers and Supplications. In this manner the *Romans* used to bless and purifie their Ships before they undertook any great expedition. *Cesar* had taken order to assault *Pompey* on all sides, in his Fort, that is, in *Sicilia*. *Lepidus*, whom he had sent for, was to land on the South of the Isle, at *Lilybaeum*. *Taurus*, who was at *Tarentum*, attacked him on the East side, and *Cesar* himself on the West: he made choice of the day of the New-moon dedicated to the honour of *J. Caesar* in the month of *July* (which yet retains his name) to weigh his Anchors and set sail. *Pompey* on his part prepared to make a very vigorous defence: he sent *Pliny* to *Lilybaeum* with eight Legions and a great number of light armed Foot; he guarded all the Coasts of *Sicilia* and the Isles of *Lipari* and *Corcyra*, to hinder *Cesar* from seizing

seizing on them, he himself kept in the Port of *Messina* with his best Ships, to carry Succours where it was necessary. *Lepidus* was come from *Africa* with twelve Legions and Five thousand *Numidian* Horse upon eighty Ships of War and a thousand Barks. *Taurus* had a hundred and two Vessels that were *Anthony's*; and *Cesar*, followed by *Appius* who was his Lieutenant-general, was come from *Puzzolo* with a favourable gale. But it seems that neither the Sea nor Winds were appeased by the Sacrifices. *Lepidus*, by a Southerly wind which sank several of his Barks, was thrown upon the Coast of *Sicily*, where he landed with much pain and hazzard: However he put his Troops in good order; and, after he had taken several small Places, he besieged *Pliny* in *Lilybaum*. *Taurus*, foreseeing the Storm, retired to *Tarentum*: but *Cesar* suffered most of all; his Lieutenant, cast upon the Rocks near *Catanea*, had the best part of his Vessels split and bulged; he himself with the loss of one Galley made in to a Gulf near *Eleata*; but this Bay lying open to the Southerly wind, which more and more increased, *Cesar's* Fleet was so beaten by stress of weather that he was forced to save himself a-shoar, with so violent a displeasure that, they say, he cryed out that, however, in spite of even *Neptune* himself, he would get the Victory. He lost six of the great Ships that *Octavia* had given him, twenty six others, and many light Brigantines

tines or pirating Boats called *Liburnica*. He omitted no care nor diligence to repair this Misfortune. He sent *Mecenas* to *Rome*, to hinder all commotions this accident might cause in favour of *Pompey*, whose name the People had respect for. He encouraged the Veterane Souldiers by fresh Promises of Rewards. And after he had visited *Taurus* at *Tarentum*, where his Ships were in good order, he came to *Vibonium*, where he gave order for the re-establishment of his Navy; but, to shew the weakness and misfortune of these men thus clouded by a false Superstition, he would never forgive *Neptune* this last disgrace, and made his Image be taken from among the other Divinities the day the publick Games were celebrated in the *Circus*. On the other hand, *Pompey* gave thanks and offered Sacrifices to this God, and trusted so much to his assistance, that he never minded taking any advantage from his Adversaries disorder; he said that, *these repeated Shipwrecks in Summer when the Sea is commonly calm were visible tokens of the favour and protection of Neptune*. And he was so vain as to adorn himself with a Robe of Yellow, the Colour consecrated to this God instead of a Purple one, the usual Ornament of *Roman* Generals. In the mean time *Cesar* refitted his Fleet with incredible diligence, which soon made *Pompey* be of another mind; convincing him of his false hopes he had flattered himself with, that so many losses would dis-

discourage *Caesar*. He therefore sent *Menas*, with the Squadron he commanded, to see what posture the Enemies were in. This freed-man, whose courage and experience deserved better than to be joined to so inconstant and perfidious a mind, already repented he had gone back to *Pompey*, whose Fleet he thought to have commanded, but was disappointed. Therefore he resolved to perform some remarkable Exploit, to make himself considerable and be courted; so, after he had gained the affection of his Souldiers by the Money he distributed among them, in three days he made 1500 *Stadiums*, and fell upon *Caesar's* guard Ships. He took three immediately, sank some Victuallers, burn'd others; and by these brave Exploits astonished the whole Fleet of *Caesar*, which at that time had no Commander in chief. He, besides, made use of this Strategeme, he ran his Galley into a kind of Bay, which had owzy ground, as if he had been drown'd and stranded, the Souldiers of the Legions who were a-shoar ran to seize upon it; but when *Menas* saw them within reach of his Darts, he threw an infinite number among them, and stood out again to Sea, laughing at and mocking them with Shouts. When he thought he had made himself sufficiently formidable, he sent a man to *Mindius*, an Officer of *Caesar's*, to speak with him. *Mindius* went, and *Menas* told him that he was willing to return to *Caesar's* service, which the hatred and injustice

justice of *Calvissius* made him forsake. *Mindius* told *Messala* of it, who being a Man of honour onely, scorned his Inconstancy. However he made *Cæsar* acquainted with what *Mindius* had done with him. *Cæsar* gave him what Security he desired, but it was rather to weaken *Pompey's* Party, than strengthen his own by a Man who was not to be trusted. *Menas* came and threw himself at *Cæsar's* Feet, who pardoned him, without leaving him any Command, and displaced and changed all the Officers of his Vessels. However, if we will believe *Horace*, *Menas* retired himself with great wealth, and served afterwards in the Post of a military Tribune.

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## CH A P. XX.

*The Actions of Agrippa against Pompey, who beats Cæsar's Fleet.*

**A** Little after this, *Messala*, by order from *Cæsar*, went for *Sicilia* with three Legions, which he encamped near the Bay of *Taurominum* above *Lepidus* his Camp. Three other Legions were sent to *Stilide*, on the other side. And *Taurus* went from *Tarentum* with all the Squadron he commanded, to make himself Master of the Cape of *Squalazzo*, over against *Taormina*;  
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in the mean time four of *Lepidus* his Legions, who came out of *Africk* in Barks, were defeated by *Papias*, *Pompey's* Lientenant. Two of these Legions were utterly lost, except some few Souldiers that saved themselves and got to *Lepidus* his Camp. The other two went back into *Africa*. *Casar* was then with all his Navy at the *Ile of Strongyle*, from whence he saw the Coast of *Sicily* defended by *Pompey's* Forces who were at *Pylorus*, *Myles*, *Tindaride*, and other Places. He left *Agrippa* to command the Fleet, and returned to *Vibonium*, from whence going into *Sicily* he marched towards *Taurominum* with *Messala's* three Legions. *Agrippa*, who longed for an opportunity of signalizing his Valour, seeing himself Commander in chief of so mighty a Fleet, besieged *Hiera* upon the Coast of *Sicily*; and after he had taken it, he had surprized *Demochares* with fourty Sail in the Port of *Myles*, if *Pompey* had not sent *Apollophanes* with fourty five others to his aid, whom he some time after followed with eighty. *Agrippa* had left half his Fleet at *Hiera*; and went with the rest to intercept *Papias*, who intended to get into the Port of *Myles*, when at the same instant he discovered *Apollophanes* and *Pompey*, who made towards him. He then commanded the Ships that were at *Hiera* with all speed to come up to him, and dispatched a light Brigantine to let *Casar* know what danger he was in. But that he might not be hemmed in, he resolved

solved first to engage *Papias*, who was nearest hand. *Papias* his Gallies were light and well manned with Rowers; *Agrippa's* were heavy, but stronger and loftier; and his Souldiers all brave and men of service; which gave them great advantage in boarding; for no sooner was one of *Pompey's* Gallies grappled but it was taken; therefore they avoided this way of Fighting, and onely attacked *Agrippa's* by surprize, bearing upon their Quarter, breaking their Rudders and their Oars. *Pompey* advanced with his Vessels to encompass *Agrippa* before the rest of his Fleet came to his relief from *Hiera*; while *Papias* made a brave Fight, though his Galley were split by *Agrippa's* and he forced to change his Ship. *Pompey* seeing the Vessels come from *Hiera*, judged his would be too weak for them, and therefore thought of a Retreat; and though he endeavoured it with all order imaginable, he could not hinder *Agrippa* from taking thirty Gallies, with the loss of onely five of his own. The Swiftnes of *Pompey's* Vessels was the occasion of saving the remainder, because they ran into places where *Agrippa* durst not follow them, because his drew more water; and would have been aground. *Agrippa* was minded to block them up but his Officers represented to him that it was not convenient to hazard the honour of so brave an action, by exposing the Fleet to the danger of the Winds and Seas, which they had but too much experience of already.

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he followed their advice, and retired. *Pompey*, feeling his Souldiers much discouraged by this ill success, thought it was not in the least proper for him to shew any signs of discontent himself. Quite contrary, he praised their Valour, and laid the blame of his misfortunes upon the weak building of his Ships: nay, he gave rewards to those that had behaved themselves well, as if they had gained a Victory; and this management of his in this conjuncture was a great reason of assuring him of the affection of his Troops. These differences thus balancing the Successes of both Parties were very convenient for the designs of *Lepidus*; he was then in *Sicilia* with a great Army, as if he were onely come to be a peaceable Spectatour of the Battels, and to see both Parties Ruine by the fury and length of this War. This Trimming of his gave *Cesar* great occasion of suspicion, but it was not now time to shew it. He was at *Squillazzo* with *Taurus* and *Messala's* Legions when he heard the News of *Agrippa's* Victory, and thereupon attempted to take *Taormina*, thinking *Pompey* was blocked up by *Agrippa*, and could not come to relieve it. It was a Post of great importance; and *Pompey*, who had foreseen this design, left his Fleet with *Demochares*, and came to *Messina*, where he drew into a Body all his Forces: his absence gave *Agrippa* an opportunity to assault *Tindaride*, from whence being repulsed he took some small places on the Sea-side. *Cesar* go-

ing on Ship-board with the greatest part of his Army, leaving the rest with *Messala*, came before *Taurrominum* and summoned the Garrison. *Pompey's* Souldiers answered him as became men of honour, and upon their refusal *Caesar* with his Fleet stood over to the other side of the mouth of the River *Oenobalus*, and disembarked them near a Temple of *Venus*, and from thence went and encamped at *Artemisa*, a Temple of *Diana*, which he fortified, the better from thence to attack *Taurrominum*. Whilst his Army was drawn up in Battalia, staying till their several Quarters were allotted them, they saw the Army of *Pompey* appear both by Sea and Land. *Caesar* was extremely surpris'd at this, and his Troops were seiz'd with so great a fear that, seeing *Pompey's* Horse charge their advanced Guards, they put themselves into disorder. Upon this occasion *Pompey* wanted both conduct and counsel; for *Caesar* had been utterly defeated, if he had been but warmly attack'd. The night that came on was the pretext of *Pompey's* Retreat which he made towards the Mountain *Coccineum*, from whence he sent all his Foot to *Phenice*, not daring to encamp with it so near *Caesar* in an open Countrey. *Caesar* fortified his Camp with extraordinary diligence, so that he quickly put himself out of danger of being forced. He had with him three Legions, five hundred dismounted Horse, a thousand light armed Foot, and two thousand auxiliary Forces

Forces of the Allies. The Fault *Pompey* had committed confirmed him in the opinion he had of his want of experience; and, to make some advantage of it, he put aboard his best Souldiers, and went and engaged the Enemies Fleet. The Fight was very hot, but unfortunate for *Cæsar*. *Pompey* soon made him sensible that, if he wanted Conduct, he did not want Valour; so that he took several Vessels, and burn'd others, and had quite put an end to this War by a glorious Victory, had it not been for the assistance of *Cornificius*, who commanded *Cæsar's* Army on Land. The Battel was fought not far from Land, so that most of the Souldiers saved themselves on Shoar; but *Cæsar* lost many Gallies in this Defeat: he was left alone with onely one Attendant in a Shallop, which landed him at the Port of *Abale*. These great misfortunes, joined to his extreme fatigues, brought him so low both in body and mind, that he laid aside all care of his preservation, and endeavoured to forget his troubles by the assistance of Sleep, which the solitude he was in with onely one Slave, and the risque he ran of the Enemies, could not hinder him from. In this state he was found by his Officers, who were along the Coast to meet with him, and a-sleep as he was, without waking him, they carried him from one Boat to another, till they had brought him safe to *Messala's* Camp: here a Prodigy happened to him, which gave him great hopes: a



great Fish threw himself out of the Sea upon the shoar, and expired at his feet; and as the *Romans* were superstitious and gave great credit to these Prefages, *Cæsar* believed this betokened Victory to him, as if the Sea by this tribute and submission had acknowledged his Power.

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C H A P. XXI.

*Cæsar gives new Orders for the fighting of Pompey, who in a general battel is entirely defeated.*

THE first care of *Cæsar* was, to preserve the Forces he had left under the command of *Cornificius*; he therefore dispatched away Courriers to his men that kept the Passes of the mountains, with positive order, to come up to that General, to whom he sent a Brigantine, to bid him be ready to receive them. After this forecast he took a little rest, and then came to *Stilide* with great diligence. *Carinna*, *Messala's* Lieutenant, had orders to go to *Lipara*. *Agrippa* was to send aid to *Cornificius*, and *Messala* to return to *Puteoli*, to make Recruits, and bring the first Legion to *Vibonium*. For had he not used all the Precaution, *Cornificius* had been utterly lost; for *Pompey* having declined to fight him when he

he offered him Battel; he had retrenched himself in sight of his Camp, and cut off all Provisions from him; he was at length constrained to decamp, and by *Pompey's Numidian Cavalry* was forced into a place called by the Inhabitants of the Countrey the fiery Brook. This in all appearance was some place near mount *Etna*; and the Land all here about, being burnt and breathing out sulphureous exhalations, dries up the Torrents that fall, so that all is covered with onely ashes and dust. Here the Troops of *Cornificius* had perished with thirst, if the Succours that *Agrippa* sent to him by *Aronius* had not come in very good time to disengage him in this Extremity. However, *Cornificius* was so much puffed up with vanity for this Retreat, that when he returned to *Rome*, as a mark of honour to himself, he never came home from Supper from his friends houses but mounted in triumph upon an Elephant. At the appearance of *Agrippa's* Legions the *Numidians* retreated, and *Cornificius* joined *Agrippa*, who had taken *Tindaride*, whither he afterwards came with all his land Forces, which consisted of one and twenty Legions, two thousand Horse and five thousand light-armed Foot. *Pompey* was not so strong by Land, but had a better Fleet than *Cesar*. They made several motions, and had some slight skirmishes; but at length, *Cesar*, seizing upon all the passages of Provision by Land, made *Pompey's* Forces retire, and reduced him to the necessity of

finishing their differences by a Sea-fight; though *Cesar* was not very willing to it, because the Sea had never been favourable to him. However, he found himself obliged to it in honour, and by the confidence he placed in the Conduct and Valour of *Agrippa*. They fixed an appointed day of Battel, and both sides prepared for it. The two Generals were to meet, each with four hundred Vessels. *Agrippa*, contriving all ways to get the Victory, invented a kind of Engine, which succeeded very well: This was a Grappling hook, made of a piece of Timber five cubits long, covered over with Plates of Iron, at each end whereof was a Ring of Iron; to one end was fastned a Scyth, or rather a great Hook, to the other several Cables to draw it home when any Vessel was grappled. The impatience of the Generals made them come very betime to the place of Battel between *Myles* and *Nautocus*. Their Souldiers carried on by an equal ardor soon came to handy-blows, and as they had sufficient leisure to prepare for it, Darts, Piles, Stones, Arrows and Fire-pots were all employed. That which more particularly appears in Civil wars you may be sure happened here, where the animosity of particular persons made the Combat more bloody than if between neighbouring Nations, onely for the motive of Glory and Conquest. All the Gallies were grappled by this Invention of *Agrippa*, nor could those of *Pompey* avoid this disadvantageous

geous way of fighting. The land Forces of both Parties stood as Spectators on the shoar waiting for the event of it with a great deal of apprehension. The Victory was long dubious, but at last by the bravery of *Agrippa* it turned in favour of *Cesar*. None could behave themselves better than he did upon this occasion. He was every where. He over-set the Enemies Gallies with the stock of his, which was the best and strongest of the Fleet, and put several of them out of condition of fighting, and performed such gallant actions that *Anthony* afterwards reproached *Cesar*, that he had not the courage so much as to see the Navies in Battel order, but lay down in his Gally with his eyes to Heaven, as one besides himself and frighted out of his senses, and did not rise to shew himself to the Souldiers till after *Agrippa* had put his Enemies to flight. The truth of the story is, that at the time of the Engagement *Cesar* was overcome with so profound a Sleep that his familiars were forced to wake him to give the word and the signal for the Charge, and this is the ground of *Anthony's* reproach. *Cesar*, upon this occasion, behaved himself like a man of prudence and courage. Nevertheless, he gave all the honour of it to *Agrippa*, whom he honoured with a blew Standard and a rostral Crown. This was so total a Defeat that *Pompey* had onely seventeen Gallies left of all that great Fleet, with which he fled to *Messina*. *Cesar* onely lost three

that were sunk ; but there were sunk of Pompey's twenty eight , the others were either burnt or taken. This great Victory had this remarkable in it, that the same day it was published at *Rome* by a Souldier, who, no doubt inspired, proclaimed it aloud, and ran to the *Capitol* and laid his Sword at the Feet of *Jupiter's* Image, as if he had no more need of it. *Pompey*, who had so often neglected his advantages in prosperity, and had no more good conduct in adversity, left his land Forces at the discretion of the Conquerour, instead of going to them and reassuring them by his presence ; so that *Tisienus*, who commanded them, went with all his Troops into *Cesar's* service. Upon this *Pompey* forsook the marks and habit of a General, and sent to those of *Messina*, that if they intended to retire and save themselves, they should speedily embark. *Pliny* had eight Legions at *Lilybaum*, and was marching to assist him according to the Orders he had received. *Pompey* was in *Messina*, a very strong place, and able to maintain a long Siege ; but he, nor staying for his Lieutenant, bore through the strait, to throw himself into the Power of *Anthony*, whose protection he hoped for in requital of that he had formerly given his Mother *Julia*.



## C. H. A. P. XXII.

*Pompey's flight. Lepidus endeavours to make himself Master of Sicily. His Souldiers forsake him to serve Cæsar, who orders the Affairs of Rome with great prudence.*

**L**epidus as we have already mentioned quietly watched the success of this War, at the head of fourteen Legions in very good quarters. As soon as he heard of *Pompey's* defeat he came near to *Messina*, which had been already assaulted by *Agrippa*. *Pliny* had put himself and Forces into it after *Pompey's* departure, but seeing there was no way but surrendring, he sent to the two Generals to capitulate. *Agrippa* intreated *Lepidus* to stay till *Cæsar's* arrival, which at farthest would be next morning which *Lepidus* refused, and as he was the strongest upon the place he received *Pliny* upon Composition, and added his Troops to his Army, after which he abandoned the Town to the pillage of the Souldiers. *Cæsar* arriving at break of day, sent to *Lepidus* to complain of these proceedings, as also for his seizing upon several places in *Sicilia*. *Lepidus* fiercely answered, that *Cæsar* had taken upon him all the authority of the Triumvirate, whereto he had as much right as himself, but the event shewed that if he ever had he knew not how to maintain it. *Cæsar* was one of those extraordinary Persons, whose wit and gallantry in so high Advancement,

Advancement keep firm, and still raise them higher; whereas in men of vulgar Spirits it often happeneth, that either their wit prejudices their courage, or their valour their understanding: He went alone to *Lepidus* his Camp without any other assistance than that of his own merit, and the Authority he had gained by his Victories. The Souldiers of *Pompey* looked upon him with respect, and drew round about him. *Lepidus* being told of it, makes haste thither and scatters the Souldiers, and made them charge *Cesar*, who was hurt by a Dart thrown at him, which yet did not hinder him from going to the place where the Eagles of the Legions were planted, taking one of them which he advanced in the Air, whereupon all the Legionary Souldiers ran in crowds and saluted him as their General. *Lepidus* being the second time abandoned by his Souldiers, quitted all the marks of his Authority which he could no longer keep, took a mourning Gown, and after he had remained a good while unregarded in the throng of those who flocked to salute *Cesar*, he came and threw himself at his feet. This was a terrible mortifying spectacle worthy of reflexion to see a *Triumvir*, who had disposed of the Lives of many noble Persons, to be reduced to beg his own, of one whom he had so lately insulted over. *Cesar* desisted him too much to take it from him, he pardoned him, but took from him the Rank and Authority,

city, and onely left him his Estate and the Dignity of sovereign Priest. The Greek Historians to give more honour to *Cesar's* prudence take from his Courage, they report that he was already assured of the greatest part of *Lepidus* his Officers before he went into his Camp, and that he had with him a Troop of Horse, and that being charged by *Lepidus* he was hurt, and his Esquire killed close by him, and that in his retreat he cut to pieces a Cohort of *Pompey's*; who insulted at his misfortune. That the next day *Lepidus* seeing his Army march in order with their Ensigns advanced to yield themselves to *Cesar*, he offered to seize upon an Eagle that a Souldier carried, who insolently told him he must endure it, or it would cost him his Life: however it was, they all agree that *Lepidus* came to *Cesar* to beg his Life, which was granted him with his Office of Priesthood and Estate. *Suetonius* alone says, that *Cesar* banished him to *Cyrcum*. In this manner the Authority of the Triumvirate without any Competitor, came wholly into the hands of *Cesar* and *Anthony*, and though between them they shared the greatest part of the world, even that would not suffice their Ambition. *Cesar* would not suffer *Pompey* to be persued, whether it were, that he feared that carried on by their heat in the Chase of him, they would go beyond the bounds of his Dominions, and that *Anthony* would be offended at it, or that he was willing to spare the  
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the Life of one who was not an Accomplish in the murder of his Father. These are the reasons he gave out, but those who look into the bottom of his Politicks, believe that he was willing to leave an unfortunate Wretch upon *Anthony's* hands, who might be a considerable mischief to him, but of no use at all; for if he received him kindly he took a Companion, who might become very uneasie to him, and whenever *Cesar* thought fit would be always an occasion of a quarrel. On the other side in putting him to death, he would draw upon himself the aversion of the *Romans*, and the particular hatred of all the party of *Pompey* the Great. Never any *Roman* General was ever at the head of so great an Army as was at this time in *Sicilia*, he had there forty five Legions, twenty five thousand Horse, one hundred and sixty thousand light armed Foot, with six hundred ships of War, without counting the Barks and smaller Vessels which were without number, and which *Cesar* restored to their particular owners, from whom they had been taken. With so much power as this, he saw himself in a state of being able to undertake any thing, if he had not now been checked by the insolence of his Souldiers, who out of season always gave him some occasion of disgust to interrupt the satisfaction of his Victories. Though he had distributed among them great sums of Money, and promised them much more, though he had given  
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great store of military Crowns, and other marks of honour, the Souldiers were not content; when they begin to reflect on their great number they no longer are obedient to Discipline, and think it a disparagement to obtain that by Prayers which they carry by force: it was in this manner that *Cesar's* Souldiers asked their dismissal, and the same rewards that were granted to those who fought at *Philippi*. *Cesar* brought himself out of this plunge, partly by prayers and partly by threats; he deferred the distributing their recompences, till the return of *Anthony*, and told them the *Illyrians* had declared War, and that they were to be vanquished before any thing else were done; the Legions refused to march before they had satisfaction. *Cesar* commanded to bring out more Crowns, Spears and Bracelets, and even purple Robes for the Officers, giving them the Dignity and rank of Senatours; but a Tribune named *Hostitius* insolently told him. *He might keep those Bawbles for Children, that the Souldiers had need of nothing but Money and Land*, all the Army shouted at this saying: *Cesar* thereupon in great anger came down from his Tribunal and retired. *Hostitius* with other mutineers went even up to his Tent; but the next morning the Tribune was not to be found, which terrified the Souldiers, and made every one consult his own safety. At length *Cesar* dismiss those who had been at the Wars of *Modena* and *Macedonia*; the others



others he pacified by large promises, and gave every one five hundred Drachmas which he got out of *Sicilia*, that was condemned to pay him six hundred Talents; he established *Preton* for his Lieutenant in *Africa* and *Sicilia*, where he left the one half of his Troops. He sent all the ships he had of *Anthony* to *Tarentum*, and kept the others with him to carry him into *Italy*, his return to *Rome* was celebrated with all the honours the Senate and people could invent. The Senators in a Body received him at the Gates of the City, and conducted him to the Capitol followed by all the people, Crowned with Garlands of Flowers; where after he had given thanks to the Gods, they waited on him to his Palace. Seeing himself rid of so formidable a Rival as *Pompey*, he thought of establishing and confirming his power, and to give it stronger Foundation, he would begin with the hearts and inclinations of the *Romans* themselves, putting in practice those wise and great Maximes which rendered his Reign so happy, as justly to acquire it the name of *August*. He went to the Senate-house, where he gave an account of his actions in a very Elegant studied Speech, which he caused afterwards to be published, the conclusion of it was, *That* after he had undergone so many toils, and just through so many dangers to put an end to the Civil Wars, he thought himself very happy, to see his country in profound Peace and perfect Union, and that

to make it sensible of some advantage by it, he remitted all the Arrears that were due to the publick Treasury of what nature soever the Debt were; as for the publick Honours they offered him he onely desired the Permission to sacrifice in publick on those days on which he had won his Victories, and a golden Statue in the Forum with an Inscription which should declare that the Senate and people of Rome had decreed him that Honour, for having given them Peace and quiet both by Sea and Land: He refused the Office of *Pontifex Maximus* which *Lepidus* yet enjoyed, and rejected with anger and scorn the Proposition that was made to put him to death, as an Enemy to his Countrey. He sent Letters to his Lieutenants with orders to open them exactly all at the same hour which he specified, and at the same time execute the Contents of them, this concerned the Slaves who were listed under *Pompey*, and who were declared free by the last Agreement made with him; they were all seized at the same time. *Cesar* restored them to their owners, or their heirs, those whose Masters were not to be found, were hanged upon Crosses near the Cities, from which they had escaped: last of all to secure the publick Peace, he ordered *Sabinus* with his Troops to pursue and bring to punishment all the Thieves that were to be found in *Italy* and *Sicily*, and established at *Rome* some Companies for the Guard of the City. All this was executed with so much order and diligence

gence, that the *Romans* began to have an extraordinary Veneration for a Man who had so great a prudence at the age of twenty eight years. Some Cities in *Italy*, went even to the erecting Altars to him, especially after one gallant thing he did ; he found among the Papers of *Pompey* a great number of Letters and Memoirs of the chief Senators, which were sufficient to occasion among them very troublesome Affairs. He brought them all into the *Forum*, and before all the people threw them all into a fire, protesting that he there Sacrificed all his private Resentments to the Commonwealth, with a design to give up his Authority as soon as *Anthony* should return from the *Parthian* expedition ; if this action appeared pleasing unto the people, the Protestation which followed it absolutely gained the hearts of the *Romans* ; they praised him to the Skies, and to shew that they desired always to obey him , they chose him Tribune of the people for all his Life-time. Besides, by this they thought to oblige him, to quit the more odious Dignity of *Triumvir* ; though *Cesar* understood their meaning well enough, he did not decline accepting the Office of perpetual Tribune, which rendered his Person sacred and inviolable ; as for the suppression of the *Triumvirate*, he deferred that till *Anthony's* return, and sent *Bibulus* to communicate to him this resolution, and after he had disposed of the Government of the provinces he went against the *Illyrians*. C H A P.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*Pompey goes into Asia, where he makes War.  
The Lieutenants of Anthony fight and take  
him. The death of Pompey.*

**P**ompey was at this time at *Mitilene*, where he understood *Anthony* was engaged in a War against the *Parthians*, who in some encounters had the better of him; and as *Pompey* was a man of no great reach; he presently imagined that he might take *Anthony's* post in the East, or at least come in for a share of his Empire. In persurance of this design he sent to the Kings of *Pontus* and *Thracia*, and to draw them to his party proposed great advantages to them; he sent also some of his Friends to the *Parthian* King to offer him his Service and his Person, which he supposed they made great account of by reason of the Reputation of his Father's name. The return of *Anthony* to *Alexandria* did not make him change his intentions, he resolved only to send to salute him, and desire his Protection: But all this while he still got Ships together, and levied Souldiers under pretence of defending himself against *Cesar*. *Anthony* advertised of these doings, ordered *Titius* to take the Army and Fleet that lay in *Syria*, and go to *Pompey* and make him explain himself what he intended to

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doe ; and either to fight him, or to treat him with all honour and respect if he yielded himself. In the mean time, those whom *Pompey* had sent to *Anthony*, had executed their Commission very well, they omitted nothing that might encline him to favour their Master ; they layed before him the unmeasurable Ambition of *Cesar* and the Protection that *Pompey* had afforded *Julia*, *Anthony's* Mother ; to this they added that reason of state absolutely required, that *Anthony* should put a stop to the progress of *Cesar*, and withall the deposing of *Lepidus* and the Consequences of that example were not forgot, and the forces of *Pompey* which they magnified, besides the Glory of protecting the Son of the greatest Man among the *Romans*. *Anthony*, throughly informed of the truth, to all these discourses onely answered, *That if what they told him of Pompey's intentions were true, he would soon confirm it himself by coming along with Titius, whom he had sent to him.* But by misfortune to *Pompey* it chanced, that his Envoys he sent to the *Parthian* King, were taken with their instructions. *Anthony* shewed them to these Deputies who were terribly surprized. They begged *Anthony*, he would not impute this perfidiousness to them, and that he would suspend his Resentment against *Pompey*, till he had seen what would pass between *Titius* and him. *Furnius*, *Anthony's* Lieutenant in *Asia*, had been obliged to *Pompey*, and not being yet instructed how

*Anthony*



*Anthony* was inclined, had received him with respect; but seeing he daily gave new occasions of suspicion he sent word of it to *Anthony*; and caused *Dominus* with his Troops to approach: Upon this *Pompey* complained that they looked upon him as an Enemy, and yet he all this while carried on a private Intigue, to gain *Pomilius* by the means of *Curius* who was in his Army; but *Curius* being taken and executed as a Traitor, *Pompey* immediately made away with *Theodorus* one of his freest Men, who onely was privy to the whole secret, and when he believed, that it was quite smothered and hush'd up, he seized upon *Lampsacus* a strong City, and well peopled with *Italians*, with whom he augmented his Forces: he had already on Foot three Legions and two hundred Horse, which gave him the boldness to besiege *Cyzicum*; being beaten from thence, *Furnius* who was much stronger than he in Horse charged him in his retreat. *Pompey* laid an Ambuscade for him, where *Furnius* lost some men, and this advantage which passed for a great Victory, drew into his Service several vagabond Souldiers out of *Myfia* and the *Propontis*. These succours made him think on vast designs: He assaunked and took *Nico* and *Nicomedia*, where he got good store of money but no provisions, which he stood most in need of, because *Furnius* with his Cavalry cut them off from him every way. And as soon as *Titius* arrived at *Proconnesus* with a strong

Army and a great many Ships; *Cassius* of *Parma*, *Nasidius*, *Saturninus*, *Thermus* and *Antistius* all noble Romans treated with *Titius*, and yielded themselves to *Anthony*; but that which quite made an end of ruining him, was the defection of *Fannius* and *Libo* his Father-in-Law, who were a great stay to his party, by their credit and their merit; he would have retreated through the plains of *Bithynia*, but *Titius*, *Furnius* and *Aminas* opposed his retreat, and as they were much stronger than he, it gave them so much Confidence, that they would not take the pains to fortifie their Camp. *Pompey* undertook with three thousand Legionary Souldiers to force it, and charging them in the night, he put them into so great disorder, that there could be no reason given, why he did not utterly defeat them, unless it were his unlucky fate. They after had time to rally, and hemmed him on every side, which forced him to demand a conference with *Furnius*. *Pompey* offered to yield himself to him or to *Aminas*, who was a foreign Prince. *Furnius* told him, That neither he nor *Aminas* would receive him in prejudice of *Titius*, who had orders concerning him from *Anthony*, and that in the condition he was then, he had more need to think of saving himself, than of sowing Division among them. *Pompey* then reproached *Furnius* with the favour he had done him, in saving him when he was in his hands, and very much insisted he should not

not yield himself to *Titius*, who treated him very ungratefully. *Furnius* though he had an extreme regret could not consent to it ; and *Pompey* retired quite besides himself with grief. He forbid any fire should be made in his Camp, and fiercely marched away with the most resolute of his Souldiers, with a design to burn *Titius* his Ships ; and it may be, this enterprize might have succeeded if by a total excess of misfortune, he had not been betrayed by *Scanyus*. This perfidious man left him to yield himself to the Enemies whom he advertised of *Pompey's* design, which he onely conjectured at. *Aminas* was detached with fifteen hundred Horse to pursue him, and soon overtook *Pompey* who had onely foot with him ; all his Souldiers abandoned him, so that he was forced to yield upon discretion to *Aminas*, who carried him to *Titius* : all the rest of his Forces surrendred themselves to this General, who sent *Pompey* to *Miletus*, where he sacrificed him to his Resentment. For which the *Romans* conceived such a hatred to *Titius*, that some time afterwards they drove him out of the *Circus*, where he gave them publick Games, and in effect it was always doubted, whether *Titius* received orders from *Anthony*, or whether *Plancus* who commanded in *Syria*, did not abuse the Name and Signet of his General, to put *Pompey* to death, out of fear, lest *Cleopatra* should save him for his Fa-

ther's sake, or to make use of him for an occasion of division between *Cæsar* and *Anthony*. Thus fell the youngest Son of *Pompey* the Great at the age of forty years, after he had for some time maintained and kept up his Father's faction, as much by his own valour as the assistance of that great Name. Beside that, Wisdom did not go along with his courage; he had to doe with two, whereof one was the wisest, and the other the bravest Captain of their time. He had too the misfortune of having none about him, but people whose Souls as mean as their extraction were not capable by their Counsels to raise his vulgar Genius. This it was that made him loose so many fair opportunities, and at last precipitated him into his destruction at last.

## C H A P. XXIV.

*The causes of the division between Anthony and Cæsar. Anthony's unfortunate expedition against the Parthians; his return to Alexandria.*

IT was believed, that the death of Pompey would have established a Peace through all the World, especially since *Anthony* and *Cæsar* might in the extent and riches of the *Roman Empire*, find all that was capable of satisfying their Ambition. It was very probable too, that their distance might take away all occasions of jealousy that daily grow between Persons, whose Authority is equal, and who are often together. But yet by their management of Affairs it was quickly seen, which has been confirmed by so many examples, that the desire of reigning observes no measures, and the most sacred things. The Passion of *Anthony* for *Cleopatra*, and the gifts he daily gave her of the Provinces that belonged to the *Roman Empire*, served *Cæsar* for a pretext to renew the War, and free himself from a Competitor, who was so formidable, both by his valour, and his Reputation in the opinion of the Souldiery. *Anthony* had added to *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, the lower *Syria*, the Isle of *Cyprus* and a great part of *Cilicia*, besides *Arabia* the happy and that part of *Judæa*, where the true Balsame grows, and all this before he went to the *Parthian War*.



These Presents that he made to a foreign Princess at the *Romans* cost, very much displeased them; and as they had nothing of their ancient Liberty left them, but the privilege of censuring the actions of their Governours, there were daily published at *Rome* very scurrilous discourses of *Anthony's* prodigality. *Cesar* abetted these murmurings, and privately encouraged them who were discontented, whenas they farther heard at *Rome*, that *Anthony* had given foreign Names to the Children he had by *Cleopatra*, calling the Son *Alexander*, and the daughter *Cleopatra*; and adding to them the Surnames of the Sun and Moon. *Anthony* had yet remaining in *Rome* several Friends, who gave him notice of the discourses that went in his prejudice; whereupon he published an Apology for himself, wherein he affirmed, that the Grandeur of the Empire of the *Romans* was not more conspicuous for the Conquests, they made than for the liberality they practised in bestowing the conquered Provinces, and that true Nobility was multiplied by the posterity that sovereign Princes left in several places; and that was the reason that obliged *Hercules*, from whom he derived himself, not to subject himself to the single tie of a Lawfull wife, but to leave the foundation of several illustrious Races in all parts of the Earth, where he extended his Conquests. These false reasons with which he endeavoured to justify his  
Passion

Passion seemed abominable to the *Romans*, who made profession of a stricter Morality. At this time too, it was that *Anthony* marched against the *Parthians* with thirteen Legions, ten thousand *Gallick* or *Spanish* Horse, and above thirty thousand other light armed Foot and Horse; but this great preparation that made all the East tremble, served onely to render his retreat more shamefull, and to make him loose that great Reputation which he had gained in all other occasions; at the very first the *Parthians* slew one of his Lieutenants, and entirely defeated two Legions, and even *Anthony* himself was reduced to such extremities, that he often despaired of his own safety. At last after he had lost the fourth part of his Troops, and all his baggage and Engines of Artillary, or Engines, he saved himself in *Armenia*, by the advice of a *Roman* who had been a Prisoner among the *Parthians* ever since the death of *Crassus*. This man counselled him to leave the Plains and gain the Mountains, where though the ways were difficult, yet he was free from the insults and attacks of the Enemy, all whose force consisted in their Cavalry. But though *Anthony* in this War behaved himself with his usual bravery; nevertheless the loss he sustained of his best Souldiers, and the shamefull retreat of such a General as he, who in all likelihood was once able to have conquered his Enemies, made an end of ruining his

his Reputation. It is said, that all these misfortunes were the consequences of his Passion for the Queen of *Egypt*, for that he had begun the War in a wrong season; and that he finished it too soon; and lastly, that he had taken no measures rightly, but those that might hasten his return to *Cleopatra*, even to the neglecting all that advantage that was offered him by the division of the *Parthians* and the *Medes*. But that which principally outraged the *Romans* was, the taking *Artabazus* King of *Armenia*, whom *Anthony* led in Triumph into *Alexandria*: the Pride of *Rome* could not bear, that a *Roman* General should impart that honour to a foreign Nation, and that she should be deprived of the advantage of insulting over vanquished Kings, which for so many years she had enjoyed. *Cesar* made all these faults of *Anthony* be taken notice of, and above all exaggerated the little value he had for his Countrey; when he found their spirits sufficiently exasperated against him, he resolved to send *Octavia* to her Husband, to the end he might have a plausible occasion to declare War if he should offer her the affront of sending her back without seeing her. *Anthony* was then at *Leucopolis*, between *Tyre* and *Sidon*, where he stayed for *Cleopatra* with an impatience he was not able to conceal: what means soever he used to amuse himself and forget her in the pleasures of his Debauches, he daily left the Table to run

to the Sea-side, to see if the Queen were not coming: at last she came, bringing with her great quantity of Clothing for the Souldiers and a vast Sum of money; at least *Anthony* gave her the honour of it when he distributed it; though it is believed it all came out of his own Pocket. Almost at the same time *Niger* arrived, sent by *Octavia*, who stayed at *Athens*, from whence she sent him word that she had brought him Clothes and Arms, Horses and Presents for his Officers; and that she had brought him 2000 chosen Souldiers all well armed. This was very heavy news for the Queen: she feared with a great deal of reason, that the vertue of *Octavia* joined with the consideration of her brother would deprive her of the Heart of *Anthony*, and that she could not prevail against so powerfull a Rival, the moment she appeared. She bethought herself to feign a deep Melancholy: she abstained from almost all kind of food on purpose to make herself lean; and when she was near *Anthony*, she beheld him with languishing eyes, after a very passionate manner, as one quite besides herself with Love; she let fall Tears in his presence, and turned away her Face, as if she desired to hide from him those marks of her grief. And besides all this, their Flatterers told *Anthony*, that he was very cruel and hard hearted to let a beautifull Princess, who loved him with so much Passion, languish so for him; that her sorrow was ready to take away her life, which  
she

she onely kept for his sake : that Octavia ought to be contented with being considered as his Wife, though he married her but by constraints and upon a politick account ; whereas such a great Queen as Cleopatra had no more but the title of his Mistress, and yet thought he did her a great deal of honour, if he would be so gracious to her as not to send her from his presence, which she could not bear without the loss of her life. These Flatteries prevailed so much upon Anthony's weakness, that they quite turned his thoughts in favour of Cleopatra. He broke off his enterprize against the Parthians notwithstanding all the instances of the King of the Medes who offered to join with him and oppose the Enemies with his Cavalry accustomed to their way of Fighting, who when they were backed by the Roman Legions would have totally defeated them. He onely contented himself to make a match between one of the Sons he had by Cleopatra and a Daughter of that King. And after he had sent word to Octavia she should return to Rome, he waited on Cleopatra back to Alexandria, where he passed the Winter in all kind of Pleasures.

C H A P.



## C H A P. XXV.

*Cæsar accuses Anthony in the Senate. He declares War against Anthony. His Forces.*

**C**æsar was not at all surprized at the Contempt *Anthony* shewed for *Octavia*, but yet he testified an extreme Resentment for it. As soon as ever his Sister came to *Rome* he ordered her to leave *Anthony's* house where she had always lived; and it was upon this occasion that *Octavia* made her vertue be admired: She said, *Though she had a great respect for her brother, yet she could not dispense with her self to obey him; and therefore conjured him not to force her to quit the house of a person she would always honour as her husband, in spite of his inconstancy; and begged him to forget all the resentment he might have for an injury which onely regarded her alone; adding moreover, that her interest ought not to oblige him to declare himself Anthony's enemy, since it would be a very shamefull thing if it should one day be said, that the love of one woman and the jealousy of another had carried two persons that governed such a great Empire to plunge the Romans into the mischiefs of a Civil-war.* Cæsar left his Sister at her liberty, to doe as she pleased; and indeed the carriage of *Octavia* did not belye her words. She always kept at *Anthony's* house, and took an extra-

extraordinary care of the education of his Children, without making any distinction between her own Children and those he had by *Fulvia*. She took into her protection all those whom her Husband sent to *Rome* to sue for Offices. She assisted their Pretensions with the Authority she had with the People; and never left importuning her Brother till she had obtained for them what they desired. But nothing did more prejudice *Anthony's* interest than this behaviour of *Octavia*, though it were quite against her intention; this great generosity of hers made her Husband's ill usage of a person of her worth seem the more odious, was that which purchased the general hatred of the *Romans*; which was yet more confirmed by what he did at *Alexandria*. *Anthony* intending as it were to spight the *Romans*, to dispose of the Provinces of his Dominions in favour of *Cleopatra* and her Children, erected a Throne of Silver in the *Gymnasium*, the place where the young men performed their bodily Exercises: Upon this Throne were two Seats of Gold, one for him, and another for *Cleopatra*; and there in presence of all the People he declared her Queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Lydia* and lower *Syria*, associating with her *Cesarion*, the Son she had by *J. Caesar*. To the Children which he had by her he gave the Title of *King of Kings*; and for their Dominions, to *Alexander*, the eldest, he allotted *Armenia*, *Media* and *Parthia*, which he pretended to conquer in a little

little time. *Ptolemy*, the younger, had *Phœnicia*, upper *Syria* and *Cilicia*: then they appeared, *Alexander* in a long *Median* Vest, with a high *Cidaris* and *Tiara*, which was the mark of Sovereignty among those Nations. *Ptolemy* had *Grecian* Buskins, a royal Mantle and a large Hat adorned with a Diadem, after the manner of the *Macedonian* Kings, the Successors of *Alexander*. Thus habited, they came to thank *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, who embraced them, and immediately two Companies of Guards, all chosen handsome persons, the one *Armenians*, the other *Macedonians*, were drawn up near these young Princes. But that which appeared most remarkable in this Solemnity was, that *Cleopatra* appeared drest like the Goddess *Isis*, and ever after, when she appeared in publick, she always wore that habit, and all her Edicts and Decrees were ever after received as Oracles of the New *Isis*. *Caesar* then thought it was a convenient time openly to declare himself: he accused *Anthony* of all these Attempts against the Majesty of the *Roman* Empire before the Senate and the People of *Rome*. *Anthony* sent to *Rome* to make his defence, and to complain of *Caesar*. He said, „*He had seized upon all Sicily, without giving him any share; that he had dispossessed Lepidus, and kept all his Governments for himself; and that he had divided all Italy among his Souldiers, and reserved nothing for those that served in Asia.* To these Accusations *Caesar* answered, *That, as*  
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for Lepidus, he was obliged to depose him for his conduct, for which he was justly punished: for the Conquests he had made, he was willing to share them with Anthony, when he would divide Armenia which he had conquered; and for the Souldiers that served with Anthony, there was no likelihood that they would desire some pitifull lands in Italy after they had conquered Media and the Empire of the Parthians by the great Exploits they had done in following their General. Anthony was so nettled with this Jear, that he ordered Canidius, who commanded his Army, to march without intermission towards the Sea-coasts with sixteen Legions to pass over into Europe, and he himself with Cleopatra came to Ephesus, where his Lieutenants had got together eight hundred Vessels, whereof Cleopatra furnished two hundred with \* twenty thousand Talents and Provisions for all his Forces. Anthony, by the Advice of Domitius, resolved to send back the Queen into Egypt till the War was ended; but she, fearing lest Octavia should make an advantage of this opportunity to come to her Husband and make a Peace, she, by great Presents, gained Canidius to represent to Anthony, That it was not just to drive away a Princess with disgrace, who alone maintained almost all the expence of the War. That, besides, her departure would deprive him of the assistance of the Egyptians, who were the best part of his Navy. And that he knew there was no King among the Allies to whom Cleopa-

\* Three  
Millions.

tra yielded in prudence or understanding, as it appeared by the manner of her governing so mighty a Kingdom; besides the experience she had gained in her long acquaintance with Anthony, whereby she had perfectly instructed hir self in the management of the most important affairs. The good fortune of Caesar and Anthony's evil destiny caused this Council to take place. Cleopatra stayed, and they went to *Samos*, where, for preparation for so great an enterprise, they began with all the pleasures that could be devised; their care was very pleasantly divided; on one side all the Kings, Princes and Nations from *Egypt* to the *Euxine* Sea; and from *Armenia* to *Dalmatia*, had order to send Arms, Provisions and Souldiers to *Samos*; on the other, all the Comedians, Dancers, Musicians and Bouffons were obliged to come to this Isle: so that sometimes a Ship that was thought to be laden with Souldiers, who conveyed a considerable succour of Arms and Amunition, proved to be laden with Players, Scenes and Machines, for the Stage; and whilst all the rest of the World was in extreme desolation, Joy and all kinds of pleasure ruled here, as if they had all made choice of this place to retire to: But how magnificent soever their entertainments were, they wanted their chiefest relish which was confidence, for Anthony's displeasure had sowed his temper to that degree that he, as to make him suspect Cleopatra her self, ate of no thing with her with-



extraordinary care of the education of his Children, without making any distinction between her own Children and those he had by *Fulvia*. She took into her protection all those whom her Husband sent to *Rome* to sue for Offices. She assisted their Pretensions with the Authority she had with the People; and never left importuning her Brother till she had obtained for them what they desired. But nothing did more prejudice *Anthony's* interest than this behaviour of *Octavia*, though it were quite against her intention; this great generosity of hers made her Husband's ill usage of a person of her worth seem the more odious, was that which purchased the general hatred of the *Romans*; which was yet more confirmed by what he did at *Alexandria*. *Anthony* intending as it were to spight the *Romans*, to dispose of the Provinces of his Dominions in favour of *Cleopatra* and her Children, erected a Throne of Silver in the *Gymnasium*, the place where the young men performed their bodily Exercises: Upon this Throne were two Seats of Gold, one for him, and another for *Cleopatra*; and there in presence of all the People he declared her Queen of *Egypt*, *Cyprus*, *Lydia* and lower *Syria*, associating with her *Cesarion*, the Son she had by *J. Caesar*. To the Children which he had by her he gave the Title of *King of Kings*; and for their Dominions, to *Alexander*, the eldest, he allotted *Armenia*, *Media* and *Parthia*, which he pretended to conquer in a little

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out a Taster : but as this Precaution seemed to be very injurious to *Cleopatra*, she undertook to let him see that it was in vain to stand upon his guard against her adrefs. She always added life to the entertainment by her pleasant company, so that once at a meal she proposed a new kind of diversion of drinking one anothers Garlands, which, according to the mode of those times, all the Guests were crowned with, dipping the Flowers of them in the Wine. *Anthony* applauded the Frolick, and would begin it with *Cleopatra's* Garland, as she very well foresaw ; all the outside Flowers of it were poisoned, the Garland was pulled to pieces and put into a golden Cup full of Wine which *Anthony* was just carrying to his Lips when *Cleopatra* told him, *My Lord*, said she, *now know Cleopatra better, and learn by this example ; that all the Precautions signifie nothing against her, if her heart were not interested in your preservation ; whereupon by her order a Criminal was immediately brought, who drank the poisoned Wine, and expired upon the place.* This Action cured *Anthony* of his suspicion, or at least made him leave off troublesome Precaution, which it seems was but useless against the art of this Princess, who could so skilfully mingle inevitable Snares of death among her pleasures. Every City of *Anthony's* Empire had a share in these Sacrifices and sent an Ox thither to be offered : and the Kings who accompanied him contended who should

should make the noblest entertainments; so that it was asked by one, *What rejoicing they would make for a Victory, who made such magnificent Treats just before a bloody War.*

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## C H A P. XXVI.

*Anthony (with Cleopatra) goes to Athens. Plancus and several others of his Friends forsake him.*

THE stay Anthony made at Samos was very favourable; for Caesar had made no provision for the War, by reason all Italy mutinied against him, because of the imposition he laid upon the People. The news of Anthony's approach with such formidable Forces had augmented this disorder and quite astonished the Romans: but when they saw that all these Preparations served onely to fill the publick Places and the Theatres of the Isle of Samos, Caesar reassured them; and after he had appeased the People, who grumbled according to custom when money was demanded; though when they have payed, they never think of it afterwards: He put himself into a posture of disputing the Empire with Forces equal to his Enemy. And now Cleopatra, envying the honours she had received at Athens, had likewise a desire to see that

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City, and was carried thither by *Anthony*; she distributed great Gifts to the *Athenians*, who in recompence were not behind-hand with their usual Flatteries: they accorded honours beyond the condition of mortals; and the most noble Citizens were deputed to carry her the Decree. *Anthony*, in the capacity of a Citizen of *Athens*, would be the chief of the Embassy, he was Spokesman and harangued the Queen in the name of the People: At length, to give her the utmost of his Passion, he sent order to *Octavia* to goe out of his house: she obeyed, without murmuring at this horrible piece of injustice, and retired to her own house, and all *Anthony's* Children with her, except *Antyllus*, who was with his Father. She only lamented her hard fate, because she was forced to serve for a pretence to a War, whose consequences must needs be fatal to her. Several of *Anthony's* friends not being able any longer to bear with his disorders, abandoned him: but it was not this nor the choice of a better side that made *Plancus* leave him, onely Inconstancy, the natural disease of his mind: he had been the basest and most sordid of *Cleopatra's* Flatterers, and had abased himself to the lowest employments about *Anthony*; even to the writing his bawdy Letters and being his Pimp. And though he had been Consul, General of an Army, and Governour of a Province, he was not ashamed to appear at a Feast among the Actors in a Play and represent  
*Glancus*,



*Glancus*, a Sea God. It was doubtless a very pleasant spectacle to see a man of his quality naked and painted green, and crowned with Reeds, with a long Beard down to his middle, and a huge Tail of a Fish, dancing upon his Knees, and making a hundred ridiculous postures: nor did this Action fail of making him be scorned. *Anthony* abused him and reproached him for some Extortions whereof he was accused, which soon made him resolve to goe to *Cesar* with *Titius* who was his Nephew. When he came to *Rome*, he accused *Anthony* before the Senate of several Crimes with so much heat, that *Coponius* could not forbear saying to him, *Sure you never observed these Crimes of Anthony but the evening before your departure*: by which he reproached either his baseness in enduring those Crimes so long, or his sottishness not to find them out sooner. But *Pollio's* proceeding was as generous as *Plancus's* was infamous. *Pollio* had retired into *Italy* after the Peace was made at *Tarentum*; nor had he ever seen *Cleopatra* or served under *Anthony* since his Intrigue with that Princess: yet when *Cesar* pressed him to follow him in this War, he frankly said, *I have served Anthony better perhaps than he has rewarded me; but however the Courtesies he has done me are more known than the Services I have done him; and therefore, without engaging my self in your quarrels, I intend quietly to stay here, and be at the discretion of the Conquerour.* *An-*

Anthony's Will and Testament was at Rome, in the hands of the Vestals, and Plancus it was who gave Caesar notice of it, who, as he would omit nothing that might serve his designs, demanded the sight of it: the Vestals refused to deliver it into his hands; but by an equivocating turn they told him, *If he would come and fetch it, they would not hinder him.* Caesar went and took it; and when he had it, he chose out the Places that were most odious in it, and read them in full Senate. But this action was not approved of at all. They said, *It was against the course of nature to punish a man whilst living for what he ordered to be done when he was dead.* Caesar chiefly insisted upon Anthony's disposing of his Sepulture: he ordained, *That if he dyed in Rome, his body should be carried in funeral pomp through the principal places of the City, and then sent into Egypt to Cleopatra.* But all the bustle that Caesar made upon this occasion did not succeed according to his wish; so that he was forced to goe to work another way. Calvisius accused Anthony publicly, *That he had given Cleopatra the famous Library of the Kings of Pergamus composed of two hundred thousand Volumes; That he had trod on her Toe at a publick entertainment, and permitted the Ephesians to give her the quality of their Sovereign in his presence.* But more particularly he insisted on two Articles: One was, *That Anthony, having received Love-letters from Cleopatra, he had read them*

in his Tribunal, where he sat judging the differences of several Kings of Asia. The other, That one day, when Furnius the most eloquent Orator among the Romans was pleading before him, he left the Orator and the Audience to follow Cleopatra's litter that by chance pass'd by. Nothing gives us a truer Image of the Roman gravity than this Passage in the History. The heads of this Accusation, that at present appear frivolous and ridiculous, were all nevertheless seriously proposed by *Calvisius*. Nay, *Plutarch* affirms, they were such shrewd ones, that the Accuser invented one part of them. Certain it is that they appeared of that moment and weight to *Anthony's* Friends, that they began to bestir themselves and solicit in his favour, to hinder the Decree of the Senate, by which he was to be declared an Enemy to the Senate and People of Rome. Therefore they sent *Geminus* to Athens to make the last attempt upon his Temper. The arrival of this man so much alarmed *Cleopatra*, that she offered him a hundred signal Affronts and several very abusive Jears. But he not being mortified at it, she caused *Anthony* one day to ask him the cause of his coming. *Geminus* answered, That things of that nature were not to be talked of over a bottle; and, that it was necessary to be sober and fasting when they were to be examined; but this he was sure of, that both before and after a Debauch he saw matters would goe well enough, if *Cleopatra* were sent into Ægypt.

*Anthony* was troubled at this discourse, and *Cleopatra* said to *Geminus*, *You doe very wisely to own the truth, without staying till it is extorted from you by torments.* *Geminus* did not think it convenient to stay for the effect of this Threat, but fled to *Rome*, followed by several other *Romans* who were disgusted at the audaciousness of *Cleopatra* and the insolence of her Parasites. The most considerable persons of those who forsook them were *Syllanus* and the famous *Dellius*, who at a meal where the Wine was not to his mind said, *That they made them drink Vinegar there, whilst at Rome, Sarmentus drank Falernian Wine.* This *Sarmentus* was a kind of a Bouffon to *Caesar*. As there is in all Courts some certain moments when every thing that is spoke is interpreted to have a secret meaning in it; This raillery of *Dellius* was so ill taken by *Cleopatra*, that she gave order to have him murdered. *Dellius*, who had notice of it, and not being willing to hazard himself to gain the reputation of a resolute man upon this occasion, was it may be glad of the opportunity to follow his inclination, and justly deserve the name of Vaulter, which afterwards *Messala* gave him at *Rome*.

CHAR.

## C H A P. XXVII.

*The Forces of Cæsar and Anthony. They write sharp Letters to each other. Cæsar approaches Anthony's Army which lay at Actium.*

N O sooner did *Cæsar* find himself strong enough to carry on the War, but he publickly proclaimed it against *Cleopatra*, and abrogated the Authority of *Anthony*, who had already in a manner parted with it in favour of that Princess. The Decree implied besides, That *Anthony* was no longer Master of his own will, by reason *Cleopatra* with her *Philtres* had taken away the very use of his reason; so that he was not to be accounted as any body in this War, which was onely managed by *Mardion* her Eunnuch, and *Iras* and *Charmia* her Women, who absolutely governed *Anthony's* Empire. The *Predigies* too were not forgot: The Town of *Pisaurum* that *Anthony* had rebuilt on the shoar of the *Adriatick Sea* was swallowed up by an *Earthquake*. At *Alva* a Statue of this *Triumvir* sweat for many days together. The Temple of *Hercules* at *Patras* was burnt by *Lightning*. And at *Athens* the Image of *Bacchus* that stood among several other Images of the Gods was alone overthrown by the Wind. The same thing happened to two *Colossus's* called the *Antonii*. Last of all, The Swallows that had built their



their nests in the Poop of Cleopatra's Admiral Galley were driven away by other Swallows who destroyed what the former had made. All these were explained very justly, but 'twas after Anthony's Defeat. The Forces of the two *Triumviri* were answerable to the Empire they shared between them; nor were there ever seen two so great Powers oppose each other. Anthony commanded over all the Provinces from *Armenia* and the Red-sea to the *Adriatick* Gulph and the *Euxine* Sea; and *Cesar* had all those from *Sicily* to the Ocean. All the Kings of *Asia* that were Allies to the *Romans* followed the fortune of *Anthony*; namely, *Tarcondemus* King of *Cilicia*, *Archelaus* of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* of *Comagena* of *Thrace*, these Princes were in person in his Army. But *Polemon* King of *Pontus*, *Malchus* King of *Arabia*, *Herod* King of the *Jews*, and *Amintas* King of *Galatia*, onely sent their Troops; besides these, *Bacchus* King of *Mauritania*, who brought his along with him; all these together made an hundred thousand Foot and twelve thousand Horse, The Navy was composed of five hundred Ships of War, whereof some had eight or ten Banks of Oars. *Cesar* in his Party had no foreign Princes, and his Army amounted to but eighty thousand; but he was as strong in Cavalry as his Enemy. He had but two hundred and fifty Vessels, all light, and very well manned with Sailers, Rowers and Souldiers; where-

as those of *Anthony* were vast, high and heavy, and wanted Rowers; so that he was forced to take up all the Artisans and Labourers of *Greece* to employ them at the Oar. Then their Hatred shewed it self by very bitter Letters; and when *Cesar* reproached *Anthony* with his Love for *Cleopatra* and the Prodigality of his Feasts, he on the other side put him in mind of the famous Feasts of the twelve Gods, where *Cesar* and the other Guests were clad as they represented the Deities they adored. To this he added his hasty marriage with *Livia*, and the shamefull divorcing of *Scribonia* because she would not bear with the Insolence of that new Mistress; and all the *Roman* Ladies with whom *Cesar* had ever had any Gallantry or Intrigue were brought upon the Stage. He even proceeded to tax him with Cowardise at the Battels of *Modena* and *Sicily*, with all those scandalous Circumstances that were mentioned before; whereupon *Cesar* wrote to him, *That it was needless to fight any longer with the Pen. That if he would advance with his Army he should have Ports in Italy where he should land without any molestation; and that Caesar would draw his Troops far enough from the Sea-side, to give Anthony the liberty of encamping, and putting his Army into Battalia.* To make a return to this Bravade; *Anthony*, though he were much older, challenged *Cesar* to fight a single combat; or if he liked not this, he offer'd to give him Battel in the Plain of  
Phar-

*Pharsalia*, where *J. Caesar* and *Pompey* had formerly decided their Differences. So each of the Generals endeavoured to manage it to his own advantage, in striving to make his own Dominions the field of Combat. But Fortune ordered it should be otherwise. At that time *Anthony* was at *Actium*, where, while he spent his time to no purpose, *Cæsar* went from *Tarentum*, where his Fleet lay, and surprized *Toryne*, a City near *Actium*. This Exploit astonished *Anthony's* Souldiers, because his Legions were not yet arrived. But *Cleopatra*, to re-assure them, made slight of it, and said, *What matter is it if Cæsar has taken the Scummer*, alluding to the word *Toryne* which signifies so. The Town of *Actium*, which this action has made so famous, was seated upon a point at the entrance of the Gulf of *Ambracia* on the Coast of *Epirus*, between the Islands of *Corcyra* and *Cephalonia*. *Anthony* had retired all his Ships into the Gulf, whither *Cæsar*, the next day after the taking of *Toryne* came and offered him Battel. *Anthony* was at a grievous plunge because his Vessels wanted Souldiers to man them. But that drew them into their fighting posture with the Oars a-peek, as if he intended to bear down upon the Enemy. This stratagem had its effect. *Cæsar*, who durst not engage him in that narrow passage, retreated off to Sea, but the other came not off the Gulf, and as he perfectly knew the Countrey thereabouts, on every side he cut off the

the Water from *Cæsar's* Camp, which threw his Army into great distress. *Agrippa* omitted not to take the Cities of *Leucadia* and *Petræ*, and seize upon *Corinth*. These happy Successes occasioned *Amintas* and *Dejotarus* to declare for *Cæsar*. *Domitius*, carried on by their Example, saved himself in a Cock-boat, and came to *Cæsar*, whose side he did not much favour by his revolt, because *Anthony*, according to his natural generosity, sent him his People and all his Equipage, though it were against the opinion of *Cleopatra* her self, which so sensibly touch'd *Domitius* who was sick already, that he was not able to out-live the grief of abandoning a man who by kindness revenged himself for his perfidiousness. In the mean time *Canidius* arrived with the Legions, who as he saw the danger nearer, he changed his mind concerning *Cleopatra*: He would have had *Anthony* send back the Queen, and himself goe into *Macedonia*, and fight by Land with so much more advantage, because *Dicomes*, King of the *Geræ*, promised him a powerfull assistance. Then said *Canidius*, One ought not to regard a false kind of shame, in having *Cæsar* Master of the Sea, where his Souldiers had gained a great deal of experience during the War with *Pompey*. That it would be a renouncing both sense and reason, to put to the hazard of the Sea and Winds a Victory which by Land they were certain of by the Valour and Experience of their General, who to this day had kept up  
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the title of Invincible; and by the Courage of their Souldiers whom he had tried in so many dangers. *Anthony* was very much inclined to follow this Advice; but *Cleopatra* byassed him the other way, and obliged him against his will to hazard both his Empire and his Life in a Sea-fight. Here also it was that *Anthony* had like to have fallen into a very great danger. And this may serve for an Instruction to persons of his rank, not too freely to expose themselves, when they are near the Enemies. They had made a kind of Causey, which ran out very far into the Sea, to go from *Anthony's* Camp to his Fleet; as he passed often in this place without any distrust, and slenderly accompanied; some of *Cesar's* Souldiers having notice of it by a Slave, made out a Party to carry him off; and came so near, that they took the Officer that marched before him: they had likewise taken *Anthony*, if their Impatience had not discovered them too soon; he had much a-doe to save himself; and *Cesar's* men retreated with their Prisoner, extremely troubled at their too much haste.



## C H A P. XXVIII.

*The battel of Actium. The retreat of Cleopatra. The flight of Anthony. Cæsar makes himself Master of Anthony's Navy and his Land-forces.*

**A** *Nthony* having taken a resolution to fight by Sea, burnt all his ships of burthen, except sixty that belonged to *Cleopatra*, and of his Men of War kept only those that had from three to ten Rows or Oars, which he manned with twenty two thousand Foot, and ten thousand Archers. As he was putting his Fleet into order of battel, and going about to give his necessary orders, an old Officer, a very brave man, and all covered with Scars, thus spoke to him aloud, *My noble General, Do you despise this Sword and this Arm, which my very wounds have not been able to weaken: That you will place your hopes in brittle Boats? Leave the Egyptians and Phœnicians to fight at Sea, but put us ashore where we are used to meet or give death with a firm foot and an assured look.* *Anthony* answered nothing, he onely made a sign with his head, as if it were to encourage him, though he himself did not seem as if he were very well assured, for when the Commanders of his ships proposed taking away the Sails he opposed it; saying, *He would not have one*

of

of the Enemies escape: for four days together, the Sea ran so high, that it was impossible to fight the fifth; the Wind was down, and then the two Fleets advanced towards each other with their Oars in very good order. It was a terrible but a very noble fight, and worthy the reward they contended for, to see on one side the Shore, where there were two hundred thousand Men all at their Arms, and on the other side the Sea covered with an incredible number of Vessels filled with Men; who were just ready to employ both Fire and Steel for each others destruction. \* *Anthony* was at the right Division of his Navy, where *Publius* commanded: *Calpurnius* was upon the left, or according to other Authours *Sosius*. *Marcus Octavius* with *Insteius* was in the Centre. *Agrippa* *Cesar's* General kept in the middle of the Fleet, having *Carius* upon the right, and *Aruntus* upon the left: *Cesar* himself onely kept the Command of a reserve to carry relief where it was needfull; they tell us nothing more of the order of the two Fleets, but we may believe, that the Vessels that *Cesar* commanded made a second Line or Division, and that *Cleopatra* with her Gallies did the same in *Anthony's*. This General in a *Brigantine* went about, encouraging his Men with the remembrance of so many Victories they had gained under his Conduct. He told them, *That this day he expected the Empire of the World from their valour, and that*

\* Anno ab  
U. C. 721.  
Thirty one  
years before  
Jesus  
Christ.

that they might promise themselves answerable rewards; that the largeness of his Vessels gave them opportunity of fighting as firmly, and with as much assurance as if they were on Land; and for this reason he ordered the Pilots not to quit their Posts, but expect the Enemies at the entrance of the Gulf. Caesar on his side gave no less hopes to his Soldiers, but with more confidence in regard he was animated by a happy Augury. At break of day coming out of his Tent to go on board, he met a Countreyman driving an Ass before him; moved by I know not what Curiosity or instinct he asked him his Name: *My Lord, says he, my name is Eutyches, and I call my Ass Nicon;* the first of these Names in Greek signifies *Happy*, and the other *Conquerour*. This rencounter made Caesar so glad, that he no longer doubted of the Victory, and published the adventure through the whole Army; and when afterwards he erected a Trophy for the Victory, with the Spurs and Beakheads of *Anthony's* Gallies; the Statues of the Man and the Ass were made in Brass. When *Caesar's* Fleet was drawn up, he went to the right Wing and staid to see how the Enemies would work to give the Onset; their Gallies lay as if they were at an Anchor in the entrance of the Gulf, and lay so till Noon, when a fresh gale carried *Anthony's* left Division out of the Gulf. *Caesar* made his right, where it was, fall a Stern, to draw them farther out to Sea,

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that he might encompass them with his Vessels which were lighter and much better fitted ; his design succeeded, and the battel began here but in a different manner than usual. For there was no shock, because *Anthony's* Gallies were too heavy, and those of *Cesar* avoided it ; fearing splitting against those huge Vessels, fortified with thick Timber and iron Spikes, so that this fight resembled rather an assault. *Cesar's* Souldiers attacked the Enemies with Pikes, Javelins, Piles and Fire pots, and they defended themselves with Arrows and Darts thrown from their Engines planted on wooden Towers. *Agrippa*, whose experience out-went all the Commanders of his time, stood out with the point of his left Division to flank *Anthony's*, which made *Publicola* advance to hinder it. *Aruntius* laying hold on this occasion, bore in to the midst of the Enemies Fleet which he put into some disorder ; but the valour of the Souldiers made the Victory yet doubtful : as they were all of them chosen Troops, they defended themselves with invincible Courage, and made a great slaughter of the Enemies that attempted to approach them. When streight they saw *Cleopatra's* sixty Gallies advance between the two Fleets with all their Sails abroad, this movement equally surprized both Navies. *Anthony's* was already in some disorder ; and when he expected some great action from these Gallies which were the best

best of his Fleet; he was amazed to see them all of a sudden tack about, and run towards *Peloponnesus* withall the Sail they could bear: thus the Historians relate it after *Plutarch*, without giving any other reason of this baseness of the *Egyptians*, than the timorousness of their Queen; that which they add is yet more surprizing. *Anthony* had given too many proofs of his Courage, ever to be suspected of Cowardize; and in this occasion, not onely the Empire of the World, but his own Life was at stake; and there was nothing to make him despair of Success, for quite contrary the resolution of his Men, and their firmness in maintaining the Combate, seem to assure him of the Victory, if they had been but well led on. But when he saw *Cleopatra* fly, he forgot the care, both of his honour and safety, to make himself an Accomplice of her Cowardly flight; and as if he had nothing more to apprehend than her absence, he thought of nothing then but to run after her. He threw himself into a Gally, with onely *Scellus* and *Alexander* the Syrian, abandoning his Souldiers, that so generously exposed their lives for his interest, and followed the Course that *Cleopatra* stood. She soon knew him, and put a flag abroad at the Prow of her Gally; he came near, and when he was aboard, he retired to the Prow without so much as seeing the Queen, and was a good while alone leaning his head upon his hand.



The Gallantry and Fidelity of his Souldiers cannot be enough admired upon this occasion, although the General had left them, and the report of his flight was spread all about the Fleet; they acted like people that would not believe it, and still fought with the same eagerness, as if he had still been at the head of them, and perhaps they might have got the Victory which they disputed till five in the Evening, if the Wind that rose had not separated them, and given the Enemies the advantage to beat them by piece-meal, for want of a Commander to rally them. Three hundred Vessels yielded to the Conquerour, but there were but five thousand Men killed on the beaten side; *Cesar* having done all he could to spare the Lives of those brave Souldiers, whom he looked upon as his Subjects: He made *Anthony's* flight be every where published, and those that obstinately defended themselves, he asked who they fought for now. He drew off his Souldiers, whom he saw too eager after the slaughter, and gave here such marks of his Clemency, as served to efface the memory of the battel of *Philippi*, and the horrible Proscriptions of the Triumvirate. He granted a general pardon before it was desired, and satisfied himself with the Punishment of a very few, and those his particular declared Enemies. *Cesar* lay in his Gally upon the place, and the next day went ashore. The Legions of *Anthony*

*thony* testified no less faith and affection to their General, than the Souldiers of his Fleet. Though several of them had seen his retreat, yet they could not tell how to believe that he, who so often had experience of the inconstancy of fortune, and had still surmounted all his misfortunes with greater Courage, should be capable of leaving all, having sufficient Forces to dispute the Empire, there remaining nineteen Legions entire, and twelve thousand Horse; they still hoped he would come and put himself at the head of them, and try a second battel; and though at last they lost that hope, and were quite surrounded both by Sea and Land, they kept themselves yet seven days in their Camp; but the flight of *Canidius* and all their chief Officers, so broke their measures that they resolved to accept of the conditions that *Caesar* offered them. Thus the *Roman* Empire so long torn by the Ambition of three men, at last with much Joy submitted to the Command of one alone, hoping to see an end of all the mischiefs that were caused by the Divisions of the *Triumviri*; all whose Authority by this Victory was united in the Person of *Caesar*.

## C H A P. XXIX.

*Anthony's displeasure against Cleopatra. He retires into Libya, and returns into Egypt.*

**A** *Anthony* was still taken up with those Melancholy reflexions, the present condition of his fortune inspired him with, when he perceived some light Gallies of *Cæsar's* that rowed up to him; in spight of all his despair, he could not bear that his Enemies should come and brave him without being able to defend himself. He therefore commanded the Pilot to tack about and face them; this dispersed them all except one, whereupon there appeared a man with a Javelin in his hand, that came up to him very fiercely, threatening him; *Who art thou, cries Anthony, that hast the Insolence to dare persue me?* I am, answered he, *Eurycles the Lacedemonian brought hither by the good fortune of Cæsar, to revenge my Father whom you put to death.* This was *Lachares* whom *Anthony* had punished for his extortions and oppressions: however *Eurycles* durst not engage *Anthony's* Gally, but attacked *Cleopatra's* Admiral, and gave him so rude a shock, that he ran him all on one side, and easily took him and another Vessel laden with all that Princess's Equipage. After he retired with his Prize,  
which

which was very rich, *Anthony* fell again into his Melancholy, and continued so three days without seeing the Queen, hindred either through shame or anger. They arrived so at *Tenarus*, where *Cleopatra's* women so bestirred themselves, that they brought them to see one another, and to eat together; in this place several of *Anthony's* Vessels came to him, and some of his Friends who informed him of the total defeat of his Fleet; but believing his Legions held out yet, he sent to *Canidius* to retreat through *Macedonia*, and return into *Asia*. Then he purposed to retire into *Africa*, and assembled his Friends, to exhort them to retire and take their measures for their safety. After which, he made a Vessel draw near wherein was all his Money, and what else he had of value, which he gave them to divide among them. They all refused his Presents, and weeping told him, *They would always follow his Fortune*. This testimony of their Fidelity moved him so much to Compassion, that he could not refrain Tears: Complaining of his fortune that put him out of Capacity of giving them tokens of his acknowledgement and gratitude, who had given him such signal marks of their affection; he added that he should very much injure them, if he should suffer them any longer to be entangled in his Misfortunes. So he absolutely Commanded them to retire themselves, and wrote to *Theophilus* Governour

of *Corinth*, to grant them refuge till they had made their Peace with *Cesar*. After he had given these orders he went into *Africa*; from whence he sent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and remained almost alone, wandering through the Desarts of *Libya*, without any other company than *Aristocrates* and *Lucilius*; one a *Greek*, and the other a *Roman*, both excellent Rhetoricians. *Lucilius* was he that saved *Brutus*, from being taken at the battel of *Philippi*; and ever since following *Anthony*, even to his death continued his affection. But *Anthony* then heard that the Governour had revolted to *Cesar*, which put him into such a violent despair, that he attempted to kill himself. His Friends hindred him from that fatal resolution by their Prayers and Remonstrances, and persuaded him to return to *Alexandria*, where he found *Cleopatra* about an enterprize, that shewed the greatness of her spirit. As that neck of Land which joyns *Asia* and *Africa* is but three hundred furlongs over, this Queen drew her Gallies upon Carriages into the Red Sea; where she designed to embark her self withall her Treasures, and the most affectionate of her Subjects; and go and plant her self in some remote part of the World, far from the dangers of War, and the fear of slavery. But the *Arabians* near the City of *Petra*, that were Enemies to the *Egyptians*, burned those Vessels that were first transported thus, which made *Cleopatra* abandon



abandon that design, and apply her self to fortifie the avenues of her Kingdom, which were of very difficult access. *Anthony's* behaviour was very different, he shewed nothing but a shamefull weakness: He shunned all Company, and built a house near the *Pharos*, far out into the Sea; where he shut himself up without either Friends or Domesticks, to imitate *Timon*, as he said, since he had no less reason than that *Athenian* to hate mankind, that seeing himself betrayed by those whom he had most obliged, this perfidiousness gave him occasion to suspect and hate all others. In this retirement *Canidius* brought him the News of the loss of his Legions, and here he heard how *Herod King* of the *Jews*, and all the other Kings of *Asia* had quitted his party, to take *Cesar's* side. He could no longer force his natural Temper, and as debauching is a great relief to people of his humour against all their troubles; he quitted his Cell, to fall a-feasting upon the Solemnity of *Cesarion's* being received into the degree of young men, and *Antyllus*, his Son by *Fulvia*, his putting off a Gown all of one colour, and without any ornament; for the *Romans* distinguished the ages of their Children, by peculiar habits; the first was the *Pratexta* or painted Gown, like our flowered Stuffs, which they wore till fourteen; the *Pura* or white Robe, which was worn till eighteen or twenty, and then they took the degree  
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of young men, and every one wore Clothes according to his quality. All this was usually performed with great Ceremonies, which served *Anthony* as a pretence to set on foot again the Society or Club they had formerly; but instead of the name it had of the *Inimitable Life*, they called it, *Eunandarioum*, *Synapothanoumenai*, that is, of those that dye together. In the mean time *Cleopatra* made tryal of all sorts of Poisons upon Criminals, even to the biting of Serpents; they say, that after many Experiments, they found that the sting of the *Asp* gave the quickest and easiest Death, and there is reason to believe, she from that very time made choice of that kind of death, if her ill-fortune should drive her to an extremity.

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# CHAPTER

## C H A P. XXX.

*Caesar goes into Italy. He pacifies the Soldiers, and besieges Alexandria.*

**C**æsar was yet in *Italy*, whither he was recalled by *Agrippa's* Letters, after he had passed one part of the Winter at *Athens* and the other at *Samos*. The occasion of his return into *Italy* was the Mutiny of his Souldiers whom he had sent to *Brundisium* after the Victory. After their usual Custom they asked their Rewards and their Discharge. In his passage he had like to have been a Cast-away twice; the first time upon the Coast of *Italy*, and the other near the *Cerannian* Mountains, where he lost several of his Vessels. He stayed at *Brundisium* but twenty seven days, to appease the Souldiers and give orders, after which with his Navy he sailed into *Syria*, while his Army marched a-long the Coasts of *Africa* to attack *Egypt* on the other side. All the Kings of *Asia*, Allies to the *Romans*, came to assure him of their obedience; but none appeared more forward than *Herod*, who went as far as *Rhodes* to lay his Crown at *Caesar's* Feet, and offered him his Person and his Troops. This Prince had very great obligations unto *Anthony*, from whom he held both his Kingdom and his Life, and for that reason he had maintained his Interests in the East with so much Zeal that it  
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was not doubted, but *Cesar* would treat him as one of his greatest Enemies. *Herod* himself had so little hopes of the success of his voyage, that in pursuance of his natural bent to Cruelty, he left order with two of his Confidants to put his Wife *Mariamme*, whom he passionately loved, to death, in case he miscarried, and *Cesar* were not disposed to pardon him. This Secret was revealed to *Mariamme* by one of his Instruments, which she not being able to keep, but reproaching her Husband with it at his return to *Judea*, was the cause of the death of this unfortunate Princess, who for her admirable beauty and her noble race, which was that of the *Maccabees*, deserved a gentler destiny. *Cesar*, to give a famous instance of his Clemency, pardoned *Herod*, gave him his Crown, and received him into the number of his Friends. Yet he refused him the Pardon of *Alexander the Syrian*, who was one of *Cleopatra's* most dangerous Flatterers, and for that reason very much esteemed by *Anthony*, whom he betrayed after a very base manner. *Anthony* had sent him to the Kings of *Asia*, to keep them in his Interests; and this perfidious Villain was the first that persuaded *Herod* to follow the Fortune of *Cesar*; to whom this Treason seemed so odious that he put him to death notwithstanding all *Herod's* Entreaties. *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, seeing themselves abandoned by all their Allies, resolved though too late to send *Euphroni-*

us, their Childrens Tutor, to make some Proposals to *Cesar*. *Cleopatra* asked the Kingdom of *Egypt* for her Children, and *Anthony* desired he might live as a private man at *Athens*, if *Cesar* was not willing he should tarry in *Egypt*. He absolutely rejected *Anthony's* Propositions; and sent to *Cleopatra*, That he would refuse her nothing that was just and reasonable, if she would rid her self of *Anthony* or drive him out of her Kingdom. With this Answer *Euphronius* returned, and with him *Thyreus*, a freed-man of *Cesar's*, he was a man very cunning, and very fit to mannage an Intrigue; who coming with a message from a young Emperour to an ambitious Princess possess'd with a great opinion of her own beauty, had no difficulty of access to her. But these secret Conferences between him and *Cleopatra*, and the honours she did him, threw *Anthony* into such a furious Passion of Jealousie, that he made poor *Thyreus* be taken and cruelly scourged, and in this pickle sent him to *Cesar* with Letters, That he had chastised *Thyreus* for his Insolence, and because he insulted over him at a time when his ill fortune had put him into an ill humour: But added he, If this proceeding of mine offend you, you have *Hipparchus*, one of my freed-men, in your hands, whip him, or hang him if you please, and so we shall be even. But this was a pleasant way of being revenged upon *Hipparchus*, the Son of *Theophilus*, Governour of *Corinth*, who was the very first  
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of *Anthony's* freed-men that went over to *Cesar*. *Cleopatra* omitted nothing to clear *Anthony's* mind of Jealousie and Suspicion; she redoubled her Fondness and Caresses; and whereas she used to celebrate her Birthday with great Feastings and Solemnities, she neglected that; but on *Anthony's* Birthday she made such a noble entertainment, that all the Guests were even enriched with the Presents she made them for *Anthony's* sake. In the mean time *Cesar*, having got all his Forces together, surprized the City of *Pelusium*, which was delivered to him by *Selenus*, and the report went, that this Governour had received such order from the Queen, who, to justifie her self, delivered his Wife and Children up into *Anthony's* hands. *Cleopatra*, near the Temple of *Isis* had built a stately building which she designed for her Sepulchre: into this place was carried by her order all her Treasure; as Gold, Jewels, Pearls, Ivory, Ebony, Cinnamon, and other pretious Woods of those times. It was filled besides with Torches, Fagots, Tow and other combustible matter; so that *Cesar*, who had notice of it, was afraid lest out of despair she should burn her self in it with all those vast Riches: as he always kept some kind of correspondence, he sent People to her to give her hopes, that she might expect all good usage from the esteem he had for her. But in this time he advanced with his Army and encamped in sight of *Alexandria*.

## C H A P. XXXI.

*Anthony defeats Cæsar's Cavalry. He is forsaken by his men. His Despair. He wounds himself. Is carried to Cleopatra. His Death.*

**T**H E Pretence of so formidable a Rival revived all those sparks of Generosity in *Anthony's* breast that seemed to be quite extinct. *Cæsar's* hatred was declared too well, to let him hope for any thing but dying like a true *Roman*, and this *Anthony* resolved upon. He rallied all the Troops he had, and made a Sally upon *Cæsar's* Horse which was advanced. This action shewed what *Anthony* might have hoped if he had fought by Land as he was advised. He beat this Cavalry, and forced it home to *Cæsar's* Camp, which he put into disorder; nor did he ever shew more Courage and Conduct than now. After this Victory he entred *Alexandria* as in Triumph, and went all armed as he was to *Cleopatra*, to tell her the News of his Advantage. He presented one of his Cavaliers to her which had behaved himself very bravely in the Fight. The Queen rewarded his Valour with an Armour of Gold; but that very night, this ungratefull wretch went to *Cæsar*. *Anthony* was very much troubled with this Man, that shewed such a dan-

dangerous Example. He tried to provoke *Caesar's* Generosity, and proposed a Duel to him; but he very coldly answered, *Anthony had ways enough to dye without seeking that.* He resolved then to make the last Push both by Sea and Land, with a design to conquer or dye bravely. He ordered his People to treat him with more magnificence than usually they did. *Perhaps*, said he to them, *this may be the last Service ye may doe me, for it may happen that to morrow you may have another Master, and ye may see me no more.* However, added he, *I do not pretend to lead you where death is more certain than victory.* The following night was troubled by a Prodigy; there was heard a great noise of Voices, Instruments and Cryes, like those of *Bacchanals*, all this passed through the City of *Alexandria*, and went out of the Gate that looked towards the Enemies Camp. As *Anthony* had all his life time affected to imitate *Bacchus*, this prodigy was interpreted to his disadvantage; and it was said, that this God abandoned him. At break of day *Anthony* posted those few Troops that were left him upon the rising ground near the Town, from whence he sent orders to his Gallies to engage the Enemy. They advanced in order of Battel; but as soon as *Anthony's* Souldiers came near they held down their Arms and saluted *Caesar's*, who returning the Salute, both Fleets joined and moved against the City. All his Cavalry see-  
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ing this left him, and went over to *Caesar's* Camp. This unfortunate General, forsaken by his men, and seeing he could not be so happy to dye with glory, his Arms in his hands, he was forced to go back to *Alexandria* quite besides himself with rage and spight, crying out, *Cleopatra* had betrayed him, in favour of those whom he had not made War with, but upon her account. This being told the Queen, the fury and despair of *Anthony* terrified her so that she retired to her Monument or Sepulchre, and fastned up the doors, and let down the Portcullis, the Place being very strong; and then made a report be spread, that she was dead, which was told *Anthony*: this sad news recalled all that tenderness he had for this Princess; *Miserable man*, cryed he, *what doest thou stay for longer, when fortune has deprived thee of all that is worth living for?* At these words he entred into a Cabinet, where, laying aside his Armour, *Cleopatra*, cryed he, *my greatest grief is, not that I am separated from thee, for we shall soon meet; but that I, who have commanded so many gallant men, should be out-done by a woman in Courage.* In this moment he called *Eros*, the most faithfull of his freed-men, whom he had engaged by Oath to kill him when he was reduced to a necessity of dying. It was to perform his Promise that he called for him. *Eros* drew out his Sword, as if he intended to perform that fatal Duty, and turning a little a-side gave himself a wound,

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which

- which made him fall dead at his Master's Feet. Dear Eros, said he, *I thank thee for shewing me what I should doe.* He then gave himself a blow in the Belly with that Violence that he fell backward upon a Bed that was near; though the wound were mortal, yet the blood was stopped by the situation his body was in as he fell, so that he came to himself, and begged of his friends who were come to him, that they would dispatch him. But they all ran from him, leaving him in a condition to move the most insensible to pity; the anguish of his wound, and the rage to be so cruelly forsaken made him cry out and tumble about and strive, when *Cleopatra* hearing of it sent *Diomedes* to bring him to her. *Anthony* understanding *Cleopatra* yet lived, ceased lamenting, to beg his Officers, who were then returned, in the most moving manner in the world, to carry him to her: with much-a-doe they lifted him up to the door of the Tomb. *Cleopatra* durst not or could not open it, for she had no body with her besides two of her Women, but she threw out some Cords from a window. All the People of *Alexandria* were present at this sad spectacle, and owned there could be nothing more lamentable than to see this great man, renowned for so many Victories, bathed in his Blood and expiring, holding out his hands to *Cleopatra*, and weakly endeavouring to raise himself; and her holding her Head down, and her Body almost out of the Window, striving with



with the help of her Women to pull him up. All the Spectatours shewed no less sorrow by their several motions: they encouraged her, and seemed to assist her with their Cryes, for that was all the help they could give her. At last, after much pain, she drew him up to the Window, where she embraced him, and laid him on a Bed. *Anthony* had loved her too much; and the state he was in was too moving, not to shew a real grief. She tore her Clothes and her Face, and beat her Breast, calling *Anthony* her Lord, her Husband, her Emperour; and though she had her self great occasions of grief, yet that deplorable object before her eyes was more than all the rest. *Anthony* conjured her to stop her tears and moderate her transports, and asked for some Wine; whether it were that he was thirsty or that he thought it would the sooner end him. After he had drank, he exhorted *Cleopatra* to endeavour to save her life if she could doe it with Honour, and to that end she might put more confidence in *Proculus* than in any else about *Cesar*; that she should not make too much reflexion upon the cruel turn of Fortune which he felt at the end of his days, but think what glory he had lived in, famous for so many Victories, Triumphs and Dignities; and after he had been the first man of the world, and the worthiest of the *Romans*, he was overcome by a *Roman*. He expired in finishing this Discourse in the moment that

*Proculus* arrived from *Cesar*. *Dercetes* one of *Anthony's* Guards had given notice of the Death of his Master, and had carried the Sword with which he slew himself, yet stained with his Blood. This sad Sight forced *Cesar* to retire into his Tent. And now the strict friendship he had had with *Anthony*, their Affinity, the Dangers they had past together came into his thoughts. All this joined with his Noble extraction, his Fame for so many Triumphs and Dignities, followed by such a deplorable end drew Tears from him. He called his Friends in and laid before them how he had not contributed any thing to the overthrow of *Anthony* by any hatred or ambition. He shewed them the Copies of the Letters he had written to him, which contained nothing but reasonable and just Proposals, and *Anthony's* Answers full of Passion and Disdain. After this he sent *Proculus* to employ all his Art and Address to seize upon *Cleopatra*. *Cesar* passionately desired in his Triumph to expose to the sight of the *Romans*, this Queen who had so long triumphed over one of their Emperours, and was also very desirous to save her Treasures. *Cleopatra* would not let *Proculus* enter; she spoke to him through the Chinks of the Dore. She was heard to ask the Kingdom of *Egypt* for her Children; and *Proculus* exhorted her to put an intire confidence in *Cesar's* Clemency, and the affection he had for her. And all this while he considered well all the Avenues

venues of this monument : when he had taken good notice of them he returned to *Cæsar*, who the same instant sent *Gallus* to make her other Propositions ; while *Proculus* with two others entred by the Window they drew *Anthony* in at : the Queen was earnest in discourse with *Gallus* , when one of her Women perceiving *Proculus* make hastily up to her , cryed out, *Poor Princess, you are taken.* At this Cry *Cleopatra* turned her Head, and drew out a dagger she had at her Girdle, to strike it into her Heart : but the *Roman* caught hold of her Arm. *Madam*, said he , *will you with the same Crime injure both your self and Cæsar, in depriving him of the most illustrious testimony he can give of his generosity ; and make the best and gentlest of Princes pass for Cruel ?* He then took the dagger from her and searched all her Clothes with Care lest she should have any Poison concealed about her.

## C H A P. XXXII.

*Cæsar enters into Alexandria. He visits Cleopatra. Her Death. The Posterity of Anthony.*

**T**HIS News gave *Cæsar* an extreme satisfaction. He saw himself Master of the World by the Death of his Enemy; and had in his hands that haughty Queen, who had lifted the Crown of *Egypt* above the Empire of the *Romans*. He commanded *Euphroditus* to guard her with exactest care, and yet serve her like a Queen. He then made his Entrance into *Alexandria*. And as in all his actions he still had something of the Politician, he chose *Arius* the Philosopher to be near him, who was of this City; and during that Solemnity to give him more respect, *Cæsar* almost always talked to him, sometimes very familiarly, holding out his hand to him. He went thus to the Place of Exercises where all the People were assembled by his order. The Majesty of *Cæsar* followed by so many armed Souldiers, who breathed nothing but destruction threw the *Egyptians* into a mighty fear. They all fell on their Knees and implored his Pardon; and when Silence was made, *Cæsar* told them he pardoned the People in consideration of their illustrious Founder *Alexander* the Great, for the Beauty of the  
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Town which he admired, and for the Friendship he bore to his Friend *Arius* their fellow Citizen : he would needs see the Tomb and Body of *Alexander* which he honoured with a Crown of Gold and covered it with Flowers according to the custom of those times. But when they asked him if he would see the Sepulchres of the *Ptolemies* too. He answered, *He desired to see a great King, not dead Corpses that were not.* *Egypt* was reduced into a Province, and *Cesar* caused his Souldiers to cleanse the Channels of the *Nile*, which very much contributed to the fertility of that Kingdom which abounded in Corn. Several Kings, Princes and *Roman* Senatours begged of him the Body of *Anthony* to pay their last respects to it, but he would not deprive *Cleopatra* of that satisfaction. She performed it with a great deal of magnificence, and *Cesar* took care to furnish her with what was needfull for the Pomp of the Funeral. She appeared here with excess of grief; though *Cesar* strove to moderate her affliction by the kind usage of her Children whom he esteemed as his Allies. Onely *Antyllus*, the eldest of *Anthony's* Children by *Fulvia*, was partaker of his Father's misfortune, as being of an age capable of Resentment, and having been always bred up with his Father, had imbibed his Sentiments; he was betrayed by *Theodorus*, his Tutor; who betrayed him, to rob him of a stone of great value. *Antyllus* threw himself at the Feet of an Image of



*J. Caesar*, but this Sanctuary stood him in no more stead than his Prayers and Tears, for he was by the Souldiers taken from thence and slain. The traitorous Schoolmaster did not long enjoy the fruits of his Treason; for he, not confessing his Theft, they searched him, and found the stone sowed up in his Girdle, and *Caesar* made him be fastned to a Cross, where the People of *Alexandria*, with Joy saw him expire. *Cesarion*, the son of *J. Caesar* and *Cleopatra*, was also delivered up by *Rhodon*, to whom this Princess had trusted him. This Son whom she tenderly loved and sent him with a great Mass of Treasure to *Ethiopia*; it was for this that this perfidious Governour deceived *Cesarion* by the shewing him feigned Letters by which *Caesar* recalled him to put him upon the Throne of *Egypt*. When he came to *Alexandria*, *Caesar* was sometime in suspence between policy and humanity, till *Arius* made him resolve by this saying, *It is not safe to have many Cæsars*; this was an allusion to a Verse in *Homer*, which was ill cited by this Philosopher, since it was the cause of *Cesarion's* death. This death not being till after that of *Cleopatra*, and *Antyllus* slain before was none of her Son, she had no cause for the encrease of her afflictions; but the greatness of her Courage, made the loss of her Liberty insupportable to her. This Melancholy with the blows with which she had bruised her Breast, put her into a slow Fever, which gave her hopes she should soon  
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end her sorrows with her Life; she had besides resolved to abstain from eating, if *Olympius* her Physician who wrote this story had not discovered this secret she had trusted him with to *Cesar*. They threatened to put her Children to death, if she persisted in this obstinacy, this was the only thing she could be sensible of; so she suffered her self to be drest, and took all they desired her: then *Cesar* resolved to see her; by his Civilities to re-assure her mind. He found her upon a low bed very plain, and as soon as she perceived him, she rose in her Smock to throw her self at his feet; her hair was in disorder, and torn in some places, her face bleeding and scratched, and her breast bruised, her eyes were red with weeping, and her voice weak and trembling. But yet all these accidents had not defaced that great beauty, nor the brightness of her eyes, nor the charming air of her face. *Cesar* civilly lifted her up, and sate down at her Beds-head. She began to enter into a justification of her Conduct; but there were too palpable Proofs against her, so she turned her discourse into humble Prayers. and put into his hand an Inventory of all her Treasure and Jewels. *Seleucus*, *Cleopatra's* Treasurer had followed *Cesar*, and by a barbarous ingratitude maintained the Queen had concealed several things which were not in that account. *Cleopatra's* choler cannot better be expressed than by the effects of it, she threw her self

self out of bed, and ran and took this perfidious Officer by the hair and beat him severely; her anger might be real, but the Character of this woman may give a suspicion, that it was but a pretence to shew *Cesar* her beautifull shape and body, which she had too great a Confidence in. He did not appear moved by it, he onely laughed at this action, and led the Queen to her Bed. *Cesar*, said she to him, *after the honour you have done me, to visit me notwithstanding of the miserable condition I am reduced to, is it not very cruel, that a vile Slave should accuse me of a Crime, because I laid aside some trifles; Not, alas, to adorn my self, but to present to Octavia and Livia, to make use of their intercession to obtain your favour?* This discourse very much pleased *Cesar*, who believed that they implied a desire she had to preserve her Life. He assured her, *She might keep her Jewels, and that he would keep her yet more generously than she could hope for, and then retired very well satisfied with his Success.* The fame of *Cleopatra's* great beauty had inspired all the young Gentlemen in *Cesar's* Court with a desire to see her. But above all the rest, *Dolabella* one of the greatest Quality, whether moved to it by love or pity shewed the greatest concern for her, and certain it was, that it was he who informed her of *Cesar's* intentions, to return to *Rome* through *Syria*, and that he had resolved within three days, to send her and  
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her Children away. Upon this news, *Cleopatra* desired *Cesar*, that he would permit her to pay certain Funeral Rites to the memory of *Anthony*, which he granted her; she then caused her self to be carried to the stately Sepulchre before mentioned, where he was laid, and there without any other attendance but her two women, she was a good space without doing any thing besides embracing the Tomb, and pouring forth abundance of tears; at length the excess of her grief thus broke forth, *My dearest Anthony*, said she, *I was a Queen and free, nor did these armes of mine wear chains when they received thee in this Monument; but now I offer thee these Sacrifices in a base state of servitude, nor dare I even print the marks of my grief upon this captive Body, that, it seems, is reserved to be an ornament of the Triumph of thy Enemy; expect therefore no more oblations of sorrow from thy Cleopatra, she is ready to be forced from thee, and this is the last token of her love and duty she is able to give thee: No chance was able to separate us while we lived, but I am afraid our cruel destiny will part us in our deaths; and as by a strange turn of fate Egypt hath afforded thee a Tomb, so Rome will me, which will be the onely courtesie I shall receive from thy Countrey: Yet I hope the Deities of those happy abodes, where thou now art (for those who govern here below, have delivered us up to our Enemies) will not abandon thy yet living Wife to their insolence,*

lence, nor shall a proud Conquerour have the pleasure of Triumphant over thee in her Person; hide me therefore here, and receive me into thy Tomb, for the greatest Woe I have ever yet endured, has been the little time that I have lived without thee. After she had ended these sad Lamentations, she crowned the Tomb and covered it with Garlands and Flowers, every moment embracing it, as if she designed to grow to it, till her women took her from thence to carry her into a Bath; when she had bathed, she attired her self very richly, which she had not done since her Misfortune, and was served at Table by *Cesar's* order, with as much Magnificence as if she had still been seated on her Throne. While she was eating, a Countrey-man came and desired to speak to the Queen; the Guards stop'd him, and would know what he carried in a basket that he had in his hand. The *Egyptian* turned up some leaves and shewed them very large and lovely Figs, and offered some of them to the Souldiers in so innocent a manner, that they let him goe in. As soon as *Cleopatra* had dined, she commanded all to void the Room except *Iras* and *Charmion* who had always attended her. These two women shut the Gates after the Queen had sent her Tablets carefully sealed up to *Cesar*, who as soon as he opened them imagined what had hapned: She there complained of her sad fate, and begged him to lay her body by *Anthony*. He immediately sent people  
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in all haste to prevent the mischief he feared ; they found the Guards very quiet, and ran hastily into the Queens Chamber, and found her laid upon a Golden bed, adorned with her Royal Robes in the posture of one a-sleep. *Iras* was laid dead at her feet, and *Charmion* who was yet breathing, was placing her Diadem right ; one of *Caesar's* Messengers very angrily said to her, *Is this well done Charmion ? Very well answered she, and as becomes a Princess descended from so many Kings ;* she said no more, but expired at her Mistress feet. It is yet uncertain which way *Cleopatra* killed her self so suddenly and so easily, it was believed, it was by the poison of an Asp that bit her, and *Caesar* seemed to confirm this opinion by her image he carried in Triumph with an Asp fastned to her Arme. They say that this Serpent was brought her hidden under the Figs, as she had contrived, that it might sting her as she put her hand into the Basket, and that perceiving it, she said, holding out her Arme, *Thou art there then ;* others say she kept one on purpose, and enraged it by pricking it with a golden Needle, but all this is but conjectured, as that she carried poison in a hollow Bodkin she hid in her hair. For there appeared on her body no spots or marks of Poison, but onely two small pricks on her Arme scarce to be perceived, and no Asp was to be found in the Sepulchre ; but they imagined they found some kind of track in the Sand on that

that side next the Sea. *Cesar* was extremely troubled at her death, as being by it deprived of the noblest ornament of his Triumph: however, he could not but admire the greatness of her Courage, who notwithstanding the weakness of her sex, preferred death before the loss of Liberty. He ordered her a very magnificent funeral, and her body as she had desired was laid by that of *Anthony*; and her two women were interred with Pomp in memory of their Fidelity. Thus this Princess, whose Wit and Beauty had made so great a noise in the World, died in the flower of her Age, at thirty eight years old. She reigned in *Egypt* twenty two years, fourteen whereof she past with *Anthony*, and all that while had a total ascendent over the Soul of that Emperour. *Cesar* preserved her Statues entire, but beat down all those of *Anthony*; but the consideration for *Cleopatra's* memory did not contribute so much to the preservation of her Images, as the thousand Talents which *Archibius* one of her Friends gave *Cesar* for that end. Those therefore erected to *Anthony's* memory were entirely demolished both in *Egypt* and *Rome*, where the Senate pronounced his memory infamous, and decreed that none of his Family should bear the name of *Marcus*. He died at the Age of fifty three, or as some say fifty six years, and by his three Wives left seven Children. The fortune of *Alexander* and *Ptolemy*  
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his Sons by *Cleopatra* is unknown, but for his Daughter young *Cleopatra*, *Octavia* took care and bred her up with her Children, and married her to *Juba* King of *Mauritania* one of the most learned and most vertuous Princes of his Age. *Antyllus* his eldest Son by *Fulvia*, was slain as before mentioned, and *Julius Antonius* the youngest, was very much esteemed by *Cesar*, to that degree that *Octavia*, whose Generosity for that unfortunate Family was without bounds, married him to *Marcella*, one of her Daughters by her first Husband. He afterwards indiscreetly engaged himself in the intrigues and debauches of *Julia*, *Augustus Caesar's* Daughter ; which Crime was the cause of his death: *Octavia* had by *Anthony* onely two Daughters, who were both called *Antonia*. The eldest married *Domitius*, *Nero's* Grandfather, and the youngest who inherited both her Mothers beauty and vertue, was married to *Drusus* the Son of *Tiberius* and *Livia*, and Son-in-Law to *Cesar*. From this Marriage came *Germanicus*, who was esteemed the greatest General of his time, and the most accomplished Person among the *Romans*, and *Claudius* who was Emperour before *Nero*. *Caius*, Sirnamed *Caligula*, the Son of *Germanicus*, did also govern the *Roman* Empire three years, after *Tiberius*. So that *Anthony's* Family in spight of their unfortunate destiny, possesst the Throne and gave three Emperours to the *Romans*.